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A GRAMMAR OF THE CLASSICAL NEWĀRĪ

BY

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PREFACE

The present grammar is a quite independent work, based exclusively on original Newārī manuscripts. Where I have in this way arrived at the same conclusions as my predecessors[1], they may seem fairly well corroborated; and where my views differ from theirs, I may urge in my favour that I have had access to much more copious materials, and that I have pursued the study of the language for a considerably longer space of time.

It is a descriptive grammar, not a comparative one. I have entirely abstained from references to the cognate languages. On the other hand, it was to a certain degree bound to become a historical grammar, since the manuscripts, on which it is based[2], range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and the natural changes in the language during this period have to some extent been reflected in them.

[1] For the authorities on Newārī I refer the reader to the list in Lingu. Survey of India, vol. III, part 1, p. 215, and to my Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhr̥ta (Royal Asiatic Society. Oriental Translation Fund. New Series, vol. XXXI), p. 1 f.—Since then I have published: A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī. D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab. Hist.-fil. Medd. XXIII, 1. 1936.—Linguistic remarks on the Verb in Newārī. Acta Orientalia, vol. XIV. pp. 280—5.—Batīsaputrikākathā. A Newārī recension of the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśatikā. D. Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab, Hist.-fil. Medd. XXIV, 2. 1939.

[2] See Dictionary, introduction pp. 4—6. Instead of MS B (l. c. p. 5) my edition of it is quoted in this grammar.

I have aimed at brevity, and I hope that this has not too much interfered with clearness and completeness. In the introduction I have summed up the characteristic features of the language, and I beg the reader to make himself acquainted with it before turning to the grammar itself.

It is my pleasant duty to offer respectful thanks to the Trustees of the Carlsberg Foundation for financial aid, by which this institution has rendered possible the collection of the materials for the present work and the treatment of it.

Oksbøl Mark, den 17. August 1940.

Hans Jørgensen.

INTRODUCTION

The main Characteristics of the Newārī Language. — Preliminary Remarks.

The primary roots of the language are monosyllabic.—Compounds are frequent, but derivations are rare.—Inflection is effected by means of suffixes. Those of the verb have to some extent fused with the final consonant of the root; forms like *kaṅ*, *yāk*, *biwo* and others cannot be analysed from a Newārī point of view.—There are two numbers, singular and plural.—There is no grammatical gender; but the language distinguishes between living beings and inanimate objects by means of generic particles, *-hma* for living beings, and *-gu*, *-guli*, rarely *-gwo*, for inanimate objects. These may be added to adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and the nominal forms of the verb. Moreover nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number, and certain case-endings, as e. g. gen. in *-s*, loc. in *-yāke*, are found only with nouns denoting living beings. —The pronoun of the first person has both an exclusive and an inclusive plural.—The higher numbers are counted by tens. The numerals are combined with nouns by means of class-words.—The adjectives are closely related to the verb. There are no forms of degree.

The verb states, that an action takes place. When the action is transitive, the agent is expressed by means of the

agential or instrumental case; when it is intransitive, the pure stem serves as subject. The same form expresses the object or end-point of a transitive action. An example may illustrate this. *rājān dhu syātaṃ* "through the king tiger-killing (took place)"; *rājā wonaṃ* "king-going (took place)"; — or, according to our mode of expression "the king killed the tiger"; "the king went".—There are no personal endings; the different persons, however, as subject or agent in some degree prefer different verbal forms; the 1st and 2nd persons, singular and plural, as opposed to the 3rd person prefer the 1st form in *-o* and the 6th form.—There is no clear distinction of the various tenses, but more so of the aspects and modes of action.—A passive voice does not occur, and would hardly be compatible with the nature of the language. The first of the above examples might as well be understood to mean "the tiger was killed by the king". The indifference of the verb as to voice is evident also from the use of the nominal forms, which, when attributive, may qualify both the subject and the object of an action. E. g. *calā nawo dhu* "the tiger which eats the gazelle" and *dhun nawo calā* "the gazelle which the tiger eats", or "which is eaten by the tiger". The forms A 6 and A 7 are mostly, but not exclusively, used in the latter way; hence their apparently passive character, which is not inherent in them.—Finite forms are rare, but the verb abounds in adverbial and nominal forms. The rather complicate use of the latter may be further illustrated by the following examples. *dhun calā nawo* "the tiger eats the gazelle", *dhun calā nawo thāy* "the place where the tiger eats the gazelle". *dhun calā nawoyā phal* "the result of the tiger's eating the gazelle".

The structure of the sentence is characterized by an almost total absence of subordinate clauses. Only relative clauses occur.

The Peculiarities of MS N.

In N, a MS of the Nāradasmṛti from AD 1699, are found traces of what seems to be a different dialect.—The chief instances are as follows. a (noun). The ending *-san* of the agential, is more frequent than in the other MSS.—b (pronoun). A demonstrative *thwolo* "this", *thwolotā* "all this" only occurs here.—c (verb). The form A 4 has sometimes the endings I *-ṃja*, II *-ca*, III *-ja* besides the usual ones; the form A 8 of I may have the ending *-nd*, *-ṃd* for *-n*; the conditional of the same class *-ṃdasā* for *-nasā*. The conjunctive participles in *-aṅān* and *-kāle* only occur here; likewise the causative in *-kā-ka-l*. Once a causative *seṃjakĕ* occurs for *sĕnakĕ*.—The form A 5 is more frequently found as nomen actoris, and A 6 as nomen actionis.—For the auxiliaries *da-t, kha-t, pha-t* are frequently found the alternative forms *dvā-t, dā-t*; *phvā-t, phā-t*, and, rarely, *khā-t*. —d. For the postposition *sinwoṃ* is used *pĕnwoṃ*; for the conjunction *nwoṃ* often *uṃ*. — Other peculiarities have been pointed out in the grammar.

PHONOLOGY

The Sounds of the Newārī Language.

1 The Newārī MSS are written in the Naipālī or Nāgarī characters. But it seems evident that the phonetic system of the language is only approximately expressed in this way. Not all sounds, represented by the characters used, are found; on the other hand, the language no doubt possesses sounds which are not, or only very imperfectly, expressed in the MSS. From the inconsistencies of the spelling, the modern notes, and MS AH in latin characters (Dict. p. 6) it is to some extent possible to form an idea of the actual phonetic system of the language.

Note. For what follows cf. Conrady's Grammatik ZDMG Bd. XLV, pp. 9—18, and his Wörterbuch, ib. Bd. XLVII, pp. 545 ff.

2 **Consonants.**

ṅ occurs as an independent sound before vowels: *ṅā* "five", *yāṅā* "doing".—In some words, where in the younger MSS it may be represented by *ny* or *n*, it seems to denote a kind of palatal nasal. See § 10 c.

Note 1. *ñ* I have found only once before a vowel, $V^2 54^b.4$ *kaña* for *kanya* (i. e. *kanē*).

Cerebrals, *ś*, and *ṣ* are not found. In loan-words they are interchangeable with dentals, *s*, and *kh*, and in Ne. words they are sometimes written instead of these letters.

Note. 2. It seems that, at least dialectically, *s* is pronounced *ś* before *i, e, y*. Cf. Kirckpatrick *sheema* for *simā*, *shené* for *sēnē*, *sheatô* for *syāto*.

r and *l* are freely interchangeable, also in loan-words. The modern notes and AH have only *l* in Ne. words, so this will be the sound actually spoken. A somewhat different sound perhaps occurs where the older MSS have *ḍ, d* for *l, r*. See § 10 c.

v, which in some MSS is not distinguished from *b*, is no doubt really *w*, as it is spelt by Hodgson and in AH.

Vowels. 3

a seems to be the only vowel which is found both short and long. *ī, ū* are used in the MSS, but they are freely interchangeable with *i* and *u*, also in loan-words. In AH, where the length of *a* is carefully marked (*á*), the other vowels never have the mark of length; only *í* is written initially (*ímá, ítá*), where the MSS frequently have *yi* for *i*.

Note. In V^1 one frequently finds *ā* (besides *aṃ*) for *a* before nasals; *a* in this position might be supposed to have a sound differing from that of the usual *a*. On the whole, it seems evident that the difference between *a* and *ā* is not merely one of quantity.

Diphthongs. 4

ai and *au* do not occur in Ne. words; but other diphthongs seem to exist, as may be inferred from the spelling (Conrady, Gramm. p. 11). While many words have an unchangeable *e* and *o* (e. g. *me* "a tongue", *conē* "to sit", *mo-cā* "a child"), in not a few *e* alternates with *ya, ye*, and *o* with *va*, or (esp. in V^1 and N) *vo*. Such words are e. g. *thenē* : *thyanē* : *thyenē* "to arrive", *pet* : *pyat* "a belly", *-sen* : *-syan* : *-syen* suffix of the agential; *soya* : *swaya* "to

look", *jonē* : *jvanē* "to seize", *onē* : *vanē* : *vonē* "to go", the suffix *-o* : *-va* : *-vo*.

For *e* : *ya* AH has always *e*, HP 82 mostly *è*, but note *dhunkyè* p. 20^a for *dhunakē*.—For *o* : *va* AH has mostly *o* after consonants (so always *tho* "this"), *wa* after vowels, rarely *wo*. In the notes to HP 82 *wo*, *wa* occur, rarely *o* (*thwohmo* "this", *womha* and *wamha* "that", *wono* "went", *wanè* "to go", *khoyè* "to weep". Cf. also Kirckpatrick *soo-ôn* "three" = *so*, *sva*).—I write *ē* and *wo*. *ē* will be a variety of *e* (*ie*?), which cannot be defined more closely, *wo* a diphthong, consisting of *u* and a more obscure vowel (cf. Minayeff *uo*, *ua*, *ue*).

In some of the MSS in Naipālī characters a combination of *o* and *ā* occurs initially and after vowels, where the other MSS have *vā*. In these cases I write *wā* (i. e. *uā*). AH has mostly *woá*. But it is possible, that *vā* has the same sound also after consonants; at least it is worth noticing that *v* is found only before *ā*; and cf. *goálichá* "a heel" AH 41a.

Note. In some words *e: ya* seems to denote a sound like *ö* (Conrady, Wörterbuch p. 556). Cf. also Kirckpatrick *beushé* = *bēsē(ṃ)*, *peumpa* = *pēn-pvāl*.

5 According to the foregoing the sounds of Newārī are as follows.

Vowels.

a ā i u e o. Diphthongs *ē wo wā*.

Consonants.

Gutturals	*k kh g gh*	*ṅ hṅ*				*h*
Palatals	*c ch j jh*	(*ń hń*?)		*y*	*hy*	
Dentals	*t th d dh*	*n hn*	*s*		*l hl* (*ḷ*?)	
Labials	*p ph b bh*	*m hm*		*v* (?)		

All vowels may be found with an anusvāra, no doubt 6 denoting a nasalization. It is used in a somewhat irregular way. In V^1 it is very frequent; here every vowel has the anusvāra before a nasal (but cf. § 3 note), and it often occurs finally, where the other MSS have no anusvāra.—A final nasalization, though mostly the weakened form of a particle (§ 202), seems to be inherent in some words and suffixes, as e. g. *laṃ* "a road", *siṃ* "wood", *thēṃ* "as, like", *nwoṃ* "even, also", *-sēṃ* the suffix of the agential and of the 10th form of the verb. But these words are frequently found without the anusvāra. See also §§ 9. 76. 118. 132 note.

Final *a* and *i*. Modern forms like *khipa* "rope", *jhango* 7 "bird", *khvá* "hot" make it highly probable that the words, spelt *khi po ta*, *jhaṃ ga la*, *khvā ka* in the MSS, were pronounced *khipot*, *jhaṃgal*, *khvāk*. So also the endings of the instrumental and locative were *-n* and *-s* (*khipotan*, *lāhātas*; cf. *khipatā* LSI, *láháté* HP 82), that of the 5th form of the verb *-k* (cf. *jilhá* "proud" AH = *jehlāk*, lit. "saying I"). In a few words and forms, however, where the MS V^1 has *-ā*, the final *-a* was no doubt pronounced; e. g. *ana*, *thana*, *gana* "there, here, where", *sala* "a horse", *jeta* "to me" (and so also *-yāta*, the ending of the dative), *cona* "he sat", the 1st form of the verb.

Forms like *pochi* "naked", *chhengoo* "skin", *ímung* "name of a plant" (in AH) for *pwocili*, *cheguli*, *imuni* (or *imun*) seem to prove that a final *i* was silent or only slightly pronounced in some words.

Note. That a final *a* was mostly silent, is corroborated by the few instances where a virāma is found: śat, "100" (N 15^b.2), *ur*, *simā* "ficus Indica" (H^{8}52^b.11), and a few others. Note also *hna shma* "seven" C^{2}299.

8 Initial and final Consonants. Initially only single consonants occur, or consonants + *y* or *v* before *ā*. E. g. *jyā* "work", *syāya* "to kill"; *kvāk* "hot", *mvāya* "to live". At the end of a word are found only single consonants (*k, t, p, ṅ, n, m, y, l, s*) and in N *nd*, (only in the 8th form of the verb, § 100, 8).

Note. In Ne. words *kṣ* and *jñ* sometimes occur; but the former stands for *khy* or *ch*, the latter for *gy*.

Sound Changes.

9 **Parallel forms.**

a : *e*. *lanē* : *lenē* "to wait", *hal* : *hel* "a leaf", *ṅanē* : *ṅenē* "to hear".

a : *ā*. *tanē* : *tānē* "to vanish" (rarely found, but cf. § 3 note).

ā : *vā* or *yā* (rare). *mālē* : *mvālē* "to be necessary". *hmā-ca* : *hmyā-ca* "a daughter".

i : *yi*. Only initially: *itā* : *yitā*, *imunī* : *yimunī* "a plant". See § 3.

s : *c*. *sas* : *sac* "a sinew", *kwos* : *kwoc* "a bone".

c : *t*. *săcān* : *sătān* "a falcon", *ci-jak* : *ti-jak* adv. "quiet". In the causative of verbs of the II. class: *yācakē* : *yātakē*.

Aspiration of consonants. *ji* : *jhi* "ten", *kanas* : *kahnas* "to-morrow", *lvāt* : *lvāth* "bill of a bird".

Nasalization of vowels. *ēcu* : *ēṃcu* "bright", *sala, saḍa* : *saṃla, saṃḍa* "a horse".

Note. In some of these cases we may have to do with forms from different dialects.

10 **Older and younger forms.** a. Vocalic changes.

o > *a*. *pot* > *-pat*, e. g. *khipot* > *khipat* "a rope". *tole* > *tale* "as long as", *hmos-khā* > *hmas-khā* "a peacock".

wo > *a*. *nugwoḍ* > *nugal* "a heart" (on *ḍ* > *l* see below).

laṃkhwo > *laṃkha* "water". *nwoṃ* > *naṃ* "even, also" (less frequently *nuṃ*).

e > *i*. *je* > *ji* "I", *me* > *mi* "fire".

ē > *i*. *sēya* > *siya* "to know", *pēya* > *piya* "to sow".

o > *u*. *hmoya* > *hmuya* "to dig", *solē* > *sulē* "to hide". *tote* > *tute, tuti* "a leg".

wo > *u*. *thwolē* > *thulē* "to possess", *wo* > *u* "that".

a > 0. Certain forms, like *khaṃti* for *khanati* "a hoe", *twoṃkē* for *twonakē* "to cause to drink" seem to show that *a* may disappear.

Note. This change, and that of *o, wo* > *a*, takes place only under certain conditions (in unstressed syllables?).—In certain words, as *me* "a tongue", *dēnē* "to sleep", *conē* "to sit", *jwonē* "to seize" the vowel does not change.

b. final consonants.

k, t, l are dropped. *malak* > *mala* "lightning". *lāhāt* > *lāhā* "a hand", *bāhāl* > *bāhā* "a shoulder".

Nasals become an anusvāra. *svān* > *svāṃ* (rare) "a flower". The ending of the instrumental case is sometimes *-ṃ* (e. g. *samudraṃ* H² 69ᵇ.3).

s, c, and (only in loan-words) *g* > *y*. *sas* > *say* "a sinew", *hnas* > *hnay* (Vi) "seven", *tvāc* > *tvāy* "a friend", *rog* > *loy* "a disease".

Note 1. In the younger MSS there is a tendency to substitute *m* for other nasals at the end of certain words (e. g. *tutān* : *tutām* "a stick", *kwolāṅ* : *kulām* "a granary"). This may be due to the fact that the scribe on account of the said change has become uncertain as to the correct orthography of these words.

Note 2. *ci-bhās* for *ci-bhāy* "a little", which occurs a few times in younger MSS, will be a hyper-correct form.

c. other consonantal changes.

c > *y*. *khvāca* > *khvāya* "deaf", *lyāca* > *lyāya* "young".

ḍ, d > *l, r*. *nugwoḍ* > *nugal* "a heart", *moḍ, moḍ* > *mol* "a head", *twoḍ-tẽ* > *twol-tẽ* "to leave", *saḍa* > *sala* "a horse", *dinẽ* > *linẽ* "to cut off".

ṅ > *w*, 0 before *o, u*. *ṅoya* > *woya* "mad". The adjectival ending *-ṅu* is in the younger language *-u(ṃ)*: *hyāṅu* > *hyāu(ṃ)* "red", *khiṅu* > *khi'u* "dark".

ṅ > *ny, n* before other vowels (*ny* only before *ā*). *ṅā* > *nyā* "a fish", *ṅāya* > *nyāya* "to buy", *ṅiṅ* > *niṅ* "good, healthy". The verbal ending *-ṅā* becomes in the later language *-nyā, nā* (*yānyā, yānā*), *-ṅ* becomes *-n* (*con*).—In the same way *hṅ* > *hny, hn*: *hṅāya* > *hnyāya* "to move", *hṅeḍ* > *hnel* "sleep".—A mixed orthography is found: *ṅyāya, hṅyāya*.

Note 1. Owing to the last mentioned change, the younger MSS have not rarely erroneous spellings, such as *coṅe, coṅasā, coṅakẽ*.—In a few words, like *ṅā* "five", *ṅa* "horn" *ṅ* does not change (see § 2).

Note 2. It must be borne in mind that the older forms also occur in the younger MSS besides the younger ones. Some of the latter, especially those showing changes in the final consonants, are on the whole but rarely found.

11 **Changes due to sentence stress.** Some shortened forms, as e. g. *do, du* : *dawo, tā* : *tayā, tẽ* : *taya* (§§ 110. 112), *ca, la, ba* for *cā, lā, bā* (§ 80), *-aṃ* for *-nwoṃ* (§ 202) have no doubt originated in an unstressed position in the sentence. To the same cause must be ascribed the weakening of *daya, phaya, khaya* from *dvāya, phvāya, khāya* (§ 110).

12 **The Form of the Loan-words.**

I shall not here exhaust this subject, but shall give merely the main peculiarities of form and spelling in the loan-words from Sanskrit (tatsamas).

Epenthesis (svarabhakti). *sanān* "a bath" (*snāna*), *silok* "a verse" (*śloka*), *bisamay* "surprise" (*vismaya*), *byakat* "manifest" (*vyakta*). Mostly *k* becomes *g* before *t*: *muguti* "release" (*mukti*), *ragat* "blood" (*rakta*).

r is frequently omitted after, less frequently before consonants; thus e. g. *pa-, pati* for *pra-, prati-*. On the other hand, a superfluous *r* is often added before consonants: *śarbd* "a sound" (*śabda*), *ryas* "fame" (*yaśas*).—This *r* is found even in Ne. words: *rjuyuno* "he will become" (V^1 12^b.6), *laṃrkhā* "water" (ib. 32^a.3), *darttaṅāva* (note *tt*) "when being" C^2 84.

Aspiration and loss of aspiration. *jaubhan* "youth" (*yauvana*), *bilambh* "delay" (*vilamba*), *kator* "difficult" (*kaṭhora*), *adik* "very much" (the usual form; *adhika*).

y > *j*. *jatn* "exertion" (*yatna*), *saṃjukt* "provided with" (*saṃyukta*).

k > *g*. Besides the instances quoted above, *aneg* "many", the usual form for *aneka*.

Shortened forms. *bac* "a word" (*vacana*), *tap* "austerity" (*tapas*).

More radical changes occur in *suheti* "a friend" (*suhṛd*), *tādasi* "such" (*tādṛśa*).

The sound changes and orthographical variations of the Ne. words, also occur in the loan-words, *jel* (*jala*) "water", *Hemālaya* (*Hi°*), *opāy* (*upāya*) "a means", *purṇ* (*pūrṇa*) "full", *mṛgyandr* (*mṛgendra*) "ruler of animals", *agyān* (*ajñāna*) "ignorance", *khyamā* (*kṣamā*) "forbearance", *pa(ṃ)chi* (*pakṣin*) "a bird", *sikhy* (*śikṣa*) "a pupil", *śariḍ* (*śarīra*) "a body".

More frequently the correct forms are found, especially in more learned and religious texts (as e. g. in Vi). The form of the loan-words, as found in the MSS, is the outcome of a contest between learned orthography and popular pronunciation.

ACCIDENCE AND SYNTAX

NOUNS

Form of the Nouns.

13 Most primary nouns consist of one syllable, as *kā* "yarn", *me* "fire", *che* "house", *khvāl* "face". Nouns of more than one syllable rarely occur, as *lusi* "a nail", *hmutu* "a mouth", *bhaṭi* "a cat".

14 Nouns may be formed by

a. Reduplication (mostly terms of relationship); as *dadā* "elder brother", *kakā* "paternal uncle", *babā* "father" (besides *bā* and *babu*).

b. Derivation by means of a suffix. Exx. *na-sā* "food" from *na-l* "to eat", *ku-sā* "an umbrella" from *ku-l* "to overshadow", *lā-sā* "a bed" from *lā-l* "to prepare a bed", *gāl-sā* "a fan" from *gāl-* "to fan"; *lvā-pu* "quarrel" from *lvā-t* "to quarrel", and *khwo-bi* "a tear" from *khwo-l* "to weep", the only noun in *-bi*.

c. Composition. Compounds are frequent, most of them are determinative compounds (tatpuruṣa).—Examples: *che-khā* "house-door", *chu-pvāl* "mouse-hole", *lu-sikhal* "gold thread", *sā-dudu* "cow-milk".—Verbal bases may be compounded with nouns: *dē-lāsā* "a couch to sleep upon", *hmo-jyā* "farming".—*cā* "child" forms a kind of diminutiva: *nagar-cā* "a small town", *rāni-cā* "a princess".—A characteristic feature is the synonymous compounds, consisting of a Ne. word and a loan-word, which are identical

in meaning: *lā-hāt* "a hand", *pā-li* "a foot", *balā-thu* "an arrow".

Note 1. A good many polysyllables are perhaps nothing but obscured compounds, especially nouns like *hnas-pot* "ear", *hni-pot* "a tail", *aṅ-gwoḍ* "a wall" (besides *aṅ*), *khicā* "a dog" and similar words.

Note 2. To some nouns, denoting living beings, especially terms of relationship, may be added *-hma*, apparently without change of meaning.

Gender. 15

Newārī has no grammatical gender. The natural gender is expressed by means of different words or qualifying affixes. *sā* "a cow", *doha* "a bull", *thwo-sā*: id.; *mes* "a buffalo", *thu-mes* "a buffalo bull"; *bā-cal-khuni* "a male sparrow", *mā-cal-khuni* "a female sparrow", *mā-khicā* "a bitch".

Note. In Aryan loan-words the original generic forms have been preserved, though not always used correctly.

Number. 16

Nouns, denoting living beings have two numbers, singular and plural; nouns denoting inanimate objects are indifferent as to number. The usual plural endings are *-pani* and *-to*, *-ta*.

a. *-pani* is the usual suffix of loan-words and of adjectives and participles, when used substantivally (and of pronouns, see §§ 38. 51). *rājā-pani* "kings", *putr-pani* "sons", *coṅ-pani* "those who are sitting". It is less frequently found with pure Ne. words: *kāy-pani* "sons", *jhaṃgal-pani* "birds".

b. *-to*, *-ta* is the usual suffix of Ne. words: *mocāto* "children", *misāto* "women", *salato* "horses". In rare cases it is added to loan-words: *mājhito* "ferry-men" (H[2] 99[b].3).

c. Rarely, and mostly in younger MSS, are loan-words like *jan, gaṇ, lok* used as suffixes of the plural, even *-lok-pani,* as *jan-lok-pani* "people" B 118. 15.

d. Where it is necessary, to mark the plural of nouns denoting inanimate objects, words like *dakwo, samast, sakalẽ* "all", *aneg* "many" are added.

Note 1. The modern form *-piṃ* for *-pani* is found in a few instances.—Plural forms of words, denoting inanimate objects, are very rare. B 86.5 has *lvahaṃ-cā-to* "pebbles".

17 The plural may have the meaning "and companion(s)", as *Damanak-pani-syaṃ* H^2 60^a.3 "Damanaka and his companion (colleague)", *thva kanyā-pani* B 88. 25 "this girl and her companions".—In a few instances *-pani* is used as a term of respect: *Raghupatan-pani* "Laghupatana" (H^2 47^a.5).

The plural ending is wanting where plurality is expressed in other ways; thus always after numerals, and mostly after nouns denoting "many, all".

Cases.

18 The following cases are found: Nominative, Agential, Genitive, Dative, Locative, Ablative, Instrumental, Sociative, Directive.—The case endings of nouns denoting living beings differ to some extent from those of nouns denoting inanimate objects.

1. Nominative. This case has no ending, but represents the pure stem.

2. Agential. Formed only from nouns denoting living beings. The ending is *-sẽṃ, -sẽn. -sẽṃ* is the older form; the *n* of *-sẽn* may be due to analogy; the instrumental in *-n* frequently takes the place of the agential.—A few instances of *-san* are found.

3. Genitive. In the singular the usual ending is *-yā*; in the plural the ending is always *-s* (*-panis*; *-tas, -tos*). Nouns denoting living beings may take *-s* also in the singular (rarely *-sayā*); as e. g. *rājās* H^2 55^a.8, *candramās* H^2 78^a.2, *brāhmaṇas* C^2 101 = *brāhmaṇayā* C^1.

4. Dative. The ending is *-ta,* added to the genitive (*-yā-ta, -s-ta*). In the singular *-sta* is rarely found, e. g. *rājāsta* C^1 69.—A few instances of *-yātan* occur, especially in N.

5. Locative. Nouns denoting living beings, have the ending *-ke,* added to the genitive (*-yā-ke, -s-ke, -sa-ke*). Other nouns have *-s* (see § 7).

6. Ablative. The ending is *-yāken.*

7. Instrumental. The ending is *-n* (cf. §§ 7. 10b).

8. Sociative. The ending is *-wo*; in a few cases it is added to the genitive (*-yā-wo, -sa-wo*). In the plural the ending is *-panisawo.*

9. Directive. Nouns denoting living beings, take the ending *-twoṃ,* those denoting inanimate objects mostly *-to(ṃ), -ta.* The younger MSS have a few instances of *-tu.*

The ablative, instrumental, and directive do not occur in the plural. From the plural in *-to* only an agential and a genitive is formed.

Nouns ending in a consonant have *a* before case endings 19
beginning with a consonant. The *ṃ,* which is found at the end of some nouns (see § 6) is mostly dropped before case endings, but not always, cf. e. g. *dahaṃyā* "of a lake" H^2 77^a.5, *lvahaṃs* "on a stone" B 134. 25.

Table of Declension. 20

1. Singular. *che* "a house", *lāhāt* "a hand", *rājā* "a king".

Nom.	*che*	*lāhāt*	*rājā*
Agent.			*rājāsēṃ, -sēn, -san*
Gen.	*cheyā*	*lāhātayā*	*rājāyā, rājās*
Dat.	(*cheyāta*)	*lāhātayāta*	*rājāyāta, rājāsta*
Loc.	*ches*	*lāhātas*	*rājāyāke, rājāsake*
Abl.	(*cheyāken*)	(*lāhātayāken*)	(*rājāyāken*)
Instr.	*chen*	*lāhātan*	*rājān*
Soc.	*chewo*	*lāhātawo*	*rājāwo, rājāsawo*
Dir.	(*cheto, -ta*)	(*lāhātato, -ta*)	*rājātwoṃ*

2. Plural. *rājāpani* "kings". *misāto, -ta* "women".

Nom.	*rājāpani*	*misāto, -ta*
Agent.	*rājāpanisēṃ, -panisēn*	*misātasēṃ, -tosēṃ; -tasēn, -tosēn*
Gen.	*rājāpanis*	*misātas, -tos*
Dat.	*rājāpanista*	
Loc.	*rājāpanisake*	
Soc.	*rājāpanisawo*	

21 Remarks. In the pl. *-to* is preferred in the nominative, *-ta* before case-endings.—A few instances occur of a gen. pl. in *-pani*, and accordingly a dative and locative in *-panita* and *-panike.*—The following irregular forms of the instrum. may be noted: *na'unīnin, na'unīnan* from *na'unī* "the wife of a barber", *lawotininan* from *lawotinī* "a low-caste woman", *rākṣasinan, rākṣasinīnan* from *rākṣasī* "an ogress", all of them in B.—To the agential, the locative in *-s*, and the instrumental the particle *-aṃ* is frequently added, especially in the younger MSS.

22 To the above mentioned cases may be added a deferential vocative in *-s*; *bho rājās* "Oh king!" (H[1] 86[b].4). Tatsamas may preserve the Sanskrit vocative ending: *he sakhe* "O friend!"; *rājan* is frequent in the younger MSS.

Note. Occasionally other Sanskrit endings are found, as e. g. *deśe grāme nagare* Vi 49.14 "in a region, in a village, in a town".

Meaning and Use of the Cases.

The Nominative, or perhaps better Casus indefinitus, is used. 23

a. for the subject of intransitive verbs. *thva Bikramādit rājā thava rājy vanaṃ* B 107.4 "king Vikramāditya went to his kingdom".

b. for the object of transitive verbs. *āmo dhu jin mocake dhuno* B 24.15 "I have killed this tiger".—The following verbs are transitive in Newārī: *kanē* "to tell", *kenē* "to show", *bhramalapē* "to roam about in", *ādeś biya* "to give an order to", *cintā yāya* "to take care of", and others.

c. as an Accusative of effect. *chān ama rājahaṃs rājā yāto* H[2] 75[b].1 f. "why did you make this flamingo a king?"

d. as an Essivus. *kutani cha-hma dayakāo. dut chotaṃ* Ś 147[a].2 "they procured a procuress, and sent her as a messenger".

e. as an Accusativus modalis. *hmutu jukva cāku* Bh 54[b].3 "sweet only as to the face". *jim-ni ku byā* B 20.5 f. "twelve cubits wide".

f. to denote time and space. *jim-ne dor da tapasyā yāṅāva* Bh *11[a].5 "performing austerities during twelve thousand years". *cibhāy bu vaṅāo* H[1] 77[a].4 "having gone some way".

g. as an Allative. *Rabanadvip vaṅāva* Bh 8[b].7 "having gone to Rāvaṇadvīpa".—Here, however, mostly the Locative is used.

h. in cases like *bā bāya* "to divide into parts" (cognate object).

24 The Agential is used for the subject (or agent) of transitive verbs. It is used not only with the verbum finitum, but also with the other verbal forms. As the Instrumental frequently takes the place of the Agential, it will be dealt with here, when used in this sense.—Examples: *thathe rājāsyaṃ ājñā biyāva* H[1] 90[a].2 "when the king had said so ...". *jin svāmin doh ŋāk-guli chuṃ ma khaṅā* Vi 43.6 "I do not see that (my) husband has committed any crime". *rāni-cān kva sol vayāva* B 130.19 "the princess went to look down, and ..." (see below § 205). *jen bhasm rakṣā ma ŋātasā. chan gathe mvācake* V[2] 17[b].3 "unless I had guarded her ashes, how would you have revived her?"

25 A causative may take two Agentials, as mostly both the agent of the causative and that of the simplex is expressed by this case. *thva rājā-cān thva thāyas sipayipanisen thāy thāyas piyakāo tayāo* Ś 155[b].2 "when the prince at this place everywhere had placed soldiers as guards" (lit. "had caused s. to guard"). *padapya ma salasā. gurunaṃ padapyake* P 62[a].6 "when he cannot read himself, (he) may let the guru read".

Note. But also *sarppayāla dudu tvanakusāṃ* H[2] 74[b].5 "even if one makes a serpent drink milk".

26 The Genitive may be

a. possessive. *jhaṃgalayā che* B 59.30 "the nest of the bird". *mocātos kos* H[1] 42[a].5 "the bones of the young ones". *mantriyā kāy* B 28.7 "the minister's son".

b. subjective. *ṣicāyāken bhatiyā bhay* H[2] 103[a].6 "the cat's fear of the dog".

c. objective. *oyā bilahan* V[1] 10[b].2 "through the longing for her". *dhanayā lobh* "greed for riches". *dhuyā bhay* B 111.2 "fear of a tiger". *mis ādin* N 39[b].2 "dependence on the husband".

d. descriptive. *nānā prakārayā śastr* "weapons of many kinds". *ṣu lāyā karm* P 3[a].6 "ceremonies lasting six months".

e. partitive. *uḷ ḍākinīs cha-hma* V[1] 21[b].1 "one of these Ḍākinīs" (note the singular!).

f. Genitivus generis. *luyā sikhal* H[3] 34[b].11 "a golden string" (= *lu-siṣal* H[2] 65[b].5). *nayā bhaṇḍār* M 4[a].5 "an iron vessel".

g. the Genitive is used with verbs. With *daya* it denotes "to have, to possess". *thva baniyāyā ekaputrī dava* B 19.16 "this merchant had one daughter". *rājāyā svatā guṇ dayu* C[2] 67 "a king will have three virtues". (*daya* may be wanting; *oyā strī pe-hmā* V[1] 110[a].3 "he had three wives").—With *juya* it denotes "to become the property of". *rājy dhan saṃpatti. thva brāhmaṇayā julo* B 27.20 "the kingdom and the treasures have become the property of this brahman". Metaphor. *pakṣipanis ahaṃkār juyāo coṅā* H[2] 74[b].4 "the birds had become haughty".—It is used, though rarely, with verbal expressions like *parikṣā yāya* "to investigate into", *nirūp yāya* "to examine".

h. But frequently the Genitive is found with verbs and verbal expressions in the following way: *barakhunis robh vaṅāva* H[1] 13[b].4 "the pigeons became greedy, and ...". *debīyā manas atyant kop yāṅāo* Vi 53.18 "the goddess became very angry in her mind, and ...". *kuṭinīyā hneḍan cāyāva* H[3] 33[b].10 "the procuress woke from her sleep, and ...". *thwo Nidhan gṛhapatiyā manas bhāraparaṃ* Vi 106.12 "the householder Nidhana thought in his mind". *siṃhayā pya-tyānāva* H[3] 35[b].2 "the lion having become hungry ...". *thva sabarayā jhāyāva* H[1] 94[b].2 "the savage grew tired, and ...". In the last examples the genitive plainly is used

for the subject. Cf. also Vi 87.3 f. "*thwopani ni-hmasayāṃ thathiṅa aiśvary lāta* "these two have obtained such splendour".

i. Finally the Genitive may be used as a derived noun: *thao cheyā-pani* P 60ᵇ.1 "his housemates".

27 The Dative is used

a. as an indirect object with verbs and verbal expressions like *biya* "to give", *lawo hlāya* "to entrust to", *dhāya* "to say to", *nvāya* "to blame", *sebā yāya* "to render a service", *krodh yāya* "to be angry with", *bibāhā yāya* "to arrange a marriage for".

Note. *bibāhā yāya* "to marry" takes a direct object, *sebā yāya* "to be a servant to, to be in the service of" the locative.

b. less frequently, and mostly in the later language, as a direct object. *thva na'uyāta sāsti yāya teṅā belas* B 98.3 "when he was going to punish the barber". *chal-polayāta syānāva. chal-polayā dakva rājy kāya* M 21ᵃ.4 "I shall kill you, and take your whole kingdom".

c. it may have the meaning "for, for the purpose of, to the advantage of". *cheta kā-huna* V² 74ᵃ.2 "take for you!" *nirogīyāta auṣadhīyā chu prayojan* H² 12ᵇ.5 "what is the use of medicine for a healthy one". *jetaṃ strī su jugiva* V¹ 28ᵃ.5 "who will become wife to me?" *jhajhesta gāk* H¹ 86ᵃ.5 "sufficient for us".

d. in rare instances it is used as an Allative: *rājāyāta vanaṃ* B 113.7 "he went to the king".

28 The Locative is used

a. as a locative proper (Adessive, Inessive). *rājaghalas khuya thāku* B 77.12 "it is difficult to steal in the king's palace". *tādato pusmīyāke con* V² 36ᵃ.6 "for a long time she lives with her husband". Also metaphor. *āpadās* "in times of distress".

b. Verbs, like *kāya* "to take", *khuya* "to steal", *senē* "to learn", *phonē* "to beg", *ṅenē* "to ask" are in Newārī constructed with the Locative. *rājāyāke belā phoṅāva* B 113.29 "asking leave of the king". *misake bitt kāya* N 41ᵇ.3 "to take property from a man".

c. it is used as an Allative. *asaṃkhy rājāpanike dut choyāva* M 9ᵇ.3 "sending messengers to innumerable kings". *pvārasaṃ du hāra* H¹ 80ᵃ.5 "(the mouse) went into its hole". *mantriyā ches vanaṃ* V² 47ᵃ.3 "he went to the house of the minister".

d. it may denote time. *rātris* "in the night", *gvachinaṃ belas* "at some time".

c. in rare cases it has the meaning of a Dative. *rājāyāke svapn bilaṃ* V² 60ᵃ.4 "he gave a dream to the king". *thavake hitan hlāk* H¹ 46ᵇ.2 "speaking for the benefit of himself".

f. it is used with verbs like *abhyās yāya* "to study", *udyam yāya* "to apply oneself to", *jojalapē* "to appoint to", *bhok puya* "to do reverence to", *sesēṃ taya* "to commit to one's charge", *śocan yāya* "to mourn for".—*lawo hlāya* "to hand over to" takes the Locative of nouns denoting inanimate objects, but the Dative of those denoting living beings (cf. above § 27 a): *cāndālayā lāhātis lao hlāṅāo bio* Vi 42.7 "deliver him into the hands of the Caṇḍālas".—*hlāya* "to say to" mostly takes the Locative.

g. miscellaneous instances of the Locative. *chanake coṅ ka'uli* B 117.18 "the cowries, which are in your possession". *garbhas daya* "to be gravid". *khvālas dāya* "to beat in the face". *thava biśvāsas coṅ-hma* H² 68ᵃ.2 "living in reliance on me". *ji strīdharmas coṅāo coṅā* Vi 45.27 "I live according to the duty of women".—*mikhās khobhi pvāpal yāṅāo* Vi 176.1 "filling her eyes with tears".

h. the Locative may be used as a partitive genitive: *jī bos chi bo* N 21ª.7 "one part out of ten".

29 The Ablative is used

a. as an Ablative proper. *thwo-guli tej mebayāken ola ma khu* Vi 90.13 "this splendour came from nobody else". *ākāśan meghayāken jarabr̥ṣṭi juyāva co* Bh *12ª.1 "from the sky, from the clouds the rain was coming".

b. to denote the cause or reason why. *lobhayāken* "from greed". *je puṇyayāken* H¹ 70ᵇ.1 "on account of my merits".

c. in a few instances as a Locative. *kumitrayāken biśvās ma du* C¹ 297 "there is no reliance on a false friend".

Note. But mostly the instrumental is used for the ablative (§ 30 d, e, f).

30 The Instrumental is used

a. to denote the instrument of an action. *khicā chahma sikhalan ciṅāva* B 83.3 f. "tying a dog with a rope". *tvāthan kvātu kvāṅāo* H² 76ª.8 "pecking vehemently with their beaks". *samastaṃ balabant juyuvaṃ dhanan* H¹ 64ᵇ.4 "everyone becomes powerful through riches".

b. as a Prosecutivus. *meba-gū lanaṃ boṅāva* B 111.7 "leading him another way".

c. to denote state and condition. *mr̥g bera began* H¹ 49ª.2 "the gazelle escaped in a hurry". *chu khvālan thava che vane* B 97.14 "with what kind of a face will (you) go to your home?" *sukhan conë* "to live in happiness".

d. to denote the starting-point (Ablative). *pvāran pi-hā vayāva* H¹ 26ª.2 "coming out of his hole". *ji paradeśan vayā* B 119.12 "I come from a foreign country".

e. to denote the cause and reason, why. *lobhan* "from greed". *ajñānan* "from ignorance".

f. to denote the terminus a quo. *thanin hnas hnu* V² 34ª.1 "seven days from to day". *ṣu cān* P 59ᵇ.7 "after the lapse of six nights".

g. in the following instances: *julan buya* "to lose at play". *bisyaṃ takon lu daṃja* N 38ᵇ.4 "to be content with what is given". *prajñān chu prayojan* C² 23 "what is the use of knowledge?" *dāman ṅāya* B 119.17 "to buy with money". With the words *saṃpann, saṃjukt* "provided with", *saṃtuṣṭ* "content with", *pvāpal* "full of", and the like.

h. the Instrumental as Agential see §§ 24. 25.

The Sociative has the meaning "with, together with". 31
lithya. mantrīpanisava samadhāl yātaṃ V² 33ᵇ.1 "afterwards he held a conference with his ministers".—It is used with verbs like *toya* "to be in accordance with", *sambandh yāya* "to have intercourse with", *lisëṃ wonë* "to keep up with" and similar verbs. Also with *biruddh* "objectionable to" (V¹ 57ª.3: *lokavo birurddh* "objectionable to people), *sam* and *tuly* "like", e. g. *chuva sam juro* H¹ 64ᵇ.5 "he became like a mouse".

Mostly we find a double sociative. *Padmābativa Maṇi-* 32
cūḍavo ni-hma M 28ᵇ.8 "both Padmāvatī and Maṇicūḍa". *miva misāva conaṅās* H² 37ᵇ.2 "when husband and wife are together". *nayuva nasāva prīti yāya* H¹ 33ª.3 f. "to form a friendship between eater and food". *putrava mitrava tuly bhārapaṃ* C¹ 21 "considering the son like a friend". *guruva. śiṣyayāva antal-aṃ* ib. 255 "the difference between teacher and pupil".

The Directive seems originally to have had the meaning 33
of an Allative: *śrī Mahādebatvaṃ bi-jyāṅāvaṃ* B 80.31 f. "repairing to Mahadava"; but with nouns denoting living beings it mostly has the meaning of a Dative. *rājāsyaṃ Biṣṇusarmātoṃ . . . rājaputr-pani rava hlāraṃ* H¹ 10ᵇ.2 "the

king entrusted the princess to the care of Viṣṇuśarman". It may also denote a direct object: *Kṛṣṇasyaṃ Nandatvaṃ boṅāva* Bh 40ᵇ.4 "as Kṛṣṇa had fetched Nanda". The form *-tu* is mostly found with *dhyābalapĕ* "to think of", *swoya* "to regard, to look at".

34 With nouns denoting inanimate objects, the Directive is used as follows:

a. of place "up to, as far as". *gal-potato vas-tunuṃ* B 106.2 "when he had gone (into the river) up to his neck". *dvālato teṅ beras* V² 27ᵃ.6 "coming up to the door". *yojan chi bhūtvaṃ yaṅāva* Bh 13ᵃ.3 "having led him as far as one mile".

b. of time "for, till the end of, during". *ṅā dato* "during five years". *gva belato. je. thava svāmī mvāta. thva belataṃ jeṃ mvāk* H² 81ᵇ.6 "as long as my husband was alive, I too was alive" (lit. "for what time ...").

Note. It must be said, however, that one may be in doubt as to whether *-twoṃ* etc. is a case-ending and not a post-position; cf. N 53ᵃ. 4 *ḍāyen thaṃ . syāya-ṭoṃ* "from beating to killing".

35 Double Cases. A case ending may be added to another case. *rāniyāva jiva. dharman jukva siyīva* B 113.14 "the righteousness of the queen and of me will know it". *thva ne-hmasyaṃ dhāra. kokhava mṛgavasyaṃ* "these two said, the crow and the gazelle" H¹ 93ᵇ.4. *rātrisayā bṛttānt-kha* V¹ 38ᵇ.4 "the events of the night" (lit. "of in the night").

Note. *-yāwo* may also be the ending of the simple sociative, cf. *śiṣyayāva* § 32.

36 **Place of Case ending.**

In complex expressions (noun with apposition or attribute), and mostly in enumerations the case ending is found only once. *ji svāmi Bikramadatt baniyān chu aparādh yāta* Vi 45.23 "what wrong has my husband, the merchant Vikramadatta done". *mām babun* "father and mother" (instrum.).—But *debayā. brāhmaṇayā. rājāyā. thvates bitt* N 41ᵇ.8 "the property of (each of) these, (of) a god, a brahman, and a king".

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns.

These are *je, ji; ja* "I"; *che, chi; cha* "thou"; *wo, u* "he, she, it".—*cha* "thou" is used in addressing inferiors or equals, *che, chi* in addressing superiors. *ja* "I" is rarely found, and does not differ in meaning from *je, ji*. (*ji, chi, u* are later forms). 37

The Plural of these pronouns, with the exception of *che, chi*, is mostly formed by adding *-pani*. *je-pani, ji-pani; ja-pani* "we"; *cha-pani* "you"; *wo-pani, u-pani* "they".—Less frequently, and mostly in the later language, are found plurals in *-mi* from *ji, chi*, and in a few instances *che*. For the third person there occurs in a few cases a plural *a-mi*. These plurals are never used in the nominative. 38

Usually *che, chi* form their plural by means of suffixes, derived from Sa. *sakala* "all". The following forms are found: *che-sakal, chi-sakal; che-skal, chi-skal; che-kal, chi-kal*. To some of these forms *-pani* may be added: *che-kal-pani; chi-sakal-pani, chi-skal-pani, chi-kal-pani*. Whereas these forms from *che* always have the meaning of a plural, the forms from *chi* are mostly used as deferential forms of the singular (cf. § 47 note). 39

40 The plurals in *-pani* and *-mi* of the 1st person are exclusive plurals "I and he, I and they".

The inclusive plural of the 1st person "I and thou, I and you" shows a great variety of forms. *jhaje, jheje, jhiji—jhejhe, jhijhi—jejhe—cha-je, che-je, chi-ji—je-che, ji-chi.* —The commonest forms are *jhaje* etc., *cha-je* etc. *jejhe* and *je-che* etc. are rarely found; *jhijhi* is fairly frequent in B, *jhaje* is found only in H[1].—*cha-je* etc. and *je-che* etc. are no doubt new formations, meaning simply "you and I, I and you" (cf. instrum. *jen chen*).

Declension of Personal Pronouns.

41 Singular.

Nom.	*ja. je; ji*	*cha. che; chi*	*wo; u*
Agent.		*chisën*	
Gen.	*ja, jan. je; ji*	*chan. che, ches; chi*	*woyā, wos*
Dat.	*jata. jeta; jita*	*chanata. cheta; chita*	*woyāta*
Loc.	*jeke; jike*	*chanake. cheke; chike*	*woyāke*
Instr.	*jan. jen; jin*	*chan. chen; chin*	*won; un*
Soc.	*jawo. jewo; jiwo*	*chawo. chewo; chiwo*	*wowo*

42 Remarks. The genitive forms *jan, ches, wos,* (and *wosayā*) are rarely found. In the later language there occur genitives in *-gu, -guli.* Before *sinwoṃ, sinaṃ* "more than" is found a genitive *jeyā* H[1] 57[a].1 = H[2] 35[b].5 = *jitayā* H[3] 13[a].5.—Note that the base of *cha* is *chan* in all oblique cases except the sociative; a modern form *chaṃta* = *chanata* occurs in M 12[b].1.— *u* is rarely found.

43 Plural in *-pani, -mi.* The plurals in *-pani* are regular, only the genitive without an ending is more frequent here than with nouns; *ji-pani-gu* "our" occurs in H[2] 74[a].7.—Of the plural in *-mi* the following forms are found:

Agent.	*jimisën*	*chimisën*	*chemisën*	*amisën*
Gen.	*jimis, jimi*	*chimis, chimi*		*ami*
Dat.	*jimita*			

Plural in *-sakala.* This plural is somewhat irregular; 44
the following forms are found:

Agent.	*che-sakalasëṃ, che-skalasëṃ; chi-skalasën, chi-skal-panisën*
Gen.	*che-sakalas, che-skalas, che-skalayā, che-kalayā; chi-skalayā, chi-kalayā*
Dat.	*chi-skalayāta*
Loc.	*che-skalasake, chi-skalayāke*

For the Nominative see § 39.

The inclusive plural of the 1st person 45

Nom.	*jhaje*	*jheje*	*jhejhe*	*jhiji*	*jhijhi*	*jejhe*
Agent.	*jhajesëṃ*	*jhejesën*		*jhijisën*		
Gen.	*jhajes*			*jhiji, jhijis*	*jhijhi, jhijhis*	*jejhes*
Dat.	*jhajesta*		*jhejhesta,* [*-sata*		*jhijhista*	
Soc.				*jhijisawo*		

Nom.	*cheje*	*chaje*	*chiji*	*jeche*	*jichi*
Agent.	*chejesëṃ, -sën*		*chijiseṃ*		*jichisën*
Gen.	*chejes*		*chijis, chiji*		
Loc.	*chejesake*			*jecheke*	
Instr.		*chajen*		*jen-chen*	

Examples. *jen Gandharb-bibāhā yāñān. je jula* V[2] 52[b].5 46
"because I have contracted a Gandharva-marriage, she has become mine". *chisen duḥkh sirasā. jin-aṃ duḥkh siya* Vi 105.30 "are you suffering misery, I too shall suffer misery" (wife to husband). *chanata jin tor-te icchā yāya dhuno* ib. 106.2 f. "I have formed a wish to get rid of you" (husband

to wife). *chi-gu guṇ* H^3 9^b.4 "your virtue". *os moḍ joñāva* Bh 50^b.3 "seizing his head". *chan jepanīstaṃ bās biya māl* V^1 11^b.5 "you must give us shelter". *thvan jhajes. pās. phekiva* H^1 25^a.3 f. "this one will tear asunder our snare". *jimis rājā* "our king". *che-skarasava mitr yāya. yayā* H^1 81^a.2 "(I) want to form a friendship with you". *chi-skarpanisen. chu kha hlāñāo diyā* Vi 22.22 f. "what word are you saying?" (wife to husband).

Note. The pronoun of the 3rd person is also used as a demonstrative pronoun. See § 54.

47 Honorific pronouns are *chal-pol* for the second, and *wos-pol* for the third person. They are inflected as follows.

Nom.	*chal-pol*	*wos-pol*
Agent.	*chal-polasĕṃ, -polasĕn*	
Gen.	*chal-polas, -polayā*	*wos-polas, -polayā*
Dat.	*chal-polasta, -polayāta*	
Loc.	*chal-polasake, -polaske*	
Instr.	*chal-polan*	*wos-polan*

In the younger MSS *chal-pol-pani* is also found, but with the meaning of a singular.

Note. The plurals of *cha, che* and esp. *chi* may also be used as honorific forms of the singular.

48 The genitive of the personal pronouns is used as a possessive pronoun. *je mitr* "my friend". *chan svāmiyāke hūni* V^2 45^b.1 "go to your husband". *oyā babu* "his father". —Further examples in § 46.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

49 The bases are *thwo, thu*; *tha. wo, u*; *a*. The forms with an initial *th* are demonstratives referring to a nearer object,

those with an initial vowel refer to a remoter object. These bases are used either alone, or with derivative suffixes (*-te, -li, -thi-, -lo, -to*).—The demonstratives are used both as pronouns and as adjectives. When used as adjectives, they do not change for case and number.

thwo, thu. "this". The usual demonstrative of the nearer 50
object.—The generic particles *-hma* and *-gu, -guli* (see introduction) may be added without change of meaning. In the younger MSS these forms become more frequent.—The younger form *thu* is rarely found, *thu-gu* and *thu-guli* more frequently than the simple form (*thu-hma* does not occur at all).

An honorific form *thwos-pol* is found in a few instances: *thvas-polayā kalāt* B 26.31 "the wife of this one (i. e. the king)".

Note. *thwo* is mostly spelt *thva, tho* is very rarely met with.

The declension is regular; e. g. Agent. *thwosĕṃ, thwo-* 51
sĕn. When the pronoun refers to living beings, a genitive *thwos* is found now and again, once *thwosayā*. On the ablative *thwoyān* see § 186.—The suffix of the plural is always *-pani*.

Note. *thwos* seems to occur as a nominative, cf. H^2 35^b.5 *thos pujalape jogy* "he is worthy of being honoured".

When used as an adjective, the meaning of *thwo* (*thwo-* 52
hma, thwo-guli) may become so attenuated, that it does not differ much from that of a definite article, though the demonstrative force is always perceptible.—*thwo* is commonly used after enumerations, as *kokha. kāpare. carā. chu. thva pya-hmasyaṃ* H^1 11^b.5 "the crow, the tortoise, the gazelle, the mouse, these four . . .". It may resume a

sentence: *lyāsya hmacamon jyāth pusami . . . āliṃgaṇ yāṅā. thvayā hetu ma daya ma phuva* ib. 51ᵇ.1 ff. instead of . . . *yāṅāyā hetu* . . . "there must be a reason for a young wife embracing an old husband".

Note. Like the other simple demonstratives *thwo* may be used as a pronoun of the 3rd person. *thvayā sukh* "his luck" (H¹ 66ᵇ. 3).

53 *tha* = *thwo* is but rarely found. *tha kupas* V² 21ᵃ.1 "in this well" = *thva kūpas* V¹ 32ᵃ.3.—*tha-gu* also occurs.

54 *wo, u* (= pers. pron. 3rd pers.) "that". The usual demonstrative of the remoter object. *o yāya thva yāya ma sesyaṃ* Bh 47ᵃ.4 "not knowing (whether) to do that or to do this". *-hma, -gu, -guli* may be added. *o-hma kumāl* Ś 160ᵇ.6 "that youth", *o-guyā kāran* Vi 137.4 "the cause of that".—The later form *u* is rarely found, but see § 56.

55 *a* is found in a few instances with the meaning of *wo*. But the enlarged form *amo, ama*, or later *āma, āmo* is mostly used.—The following cases are found: Genitive *amoyā* etc., Instrum. *āmon*, Sociat. *amova*. There is no plural.

It is a general demonstrative, sometimes with the secondary meaning "the person or thing just mentioned" or "in question". *āmo rājā chan mitr ma khu* B 141.21 f. "this king is not your friend". *āmayā nirṇay gathya* H³ 42ᵃ.11 "what is the settlement of the affair in question".

56 *u* "the same" (perhaps the same word as *u* § 54). *u-gu thās* "to the same place".—For the construction cf. *rājāyā u kvathās tayāva* B 84.28 "placing (her) in the same room as that of the king". *thamabo u jāti* N 131ᵇ.1 "of the same caste as herself".

Note. Cf. the expression *u lāya* "to be alike", lit. "to reach the same, to amount to the same".—With nouns *u* forms a kind of possessive compound (bahuvrīhi) *u-nugoḍ juya* N 49ᵇ. 4 "let us unite"; lit. ". . . become of the same heart".

Demonstratives with Derivative Suffixes.

thwote, rarely *thwoti, thwota*; later *thuti*, rarely *thute*. 57
A demonstrative which as a rule refers to what has just been mentioned, and mostly to a plurality of objects. Therefore it is the usual pronoun after enumerations.—The following cases are found: Agent. *thwotesën*, Genit. *thwoteyā, thwotes* (*thutiyā, thutis*), Instr. *thwoten* (*thutin*), Sociat. *thwotesawo*, Loc. *thwotes* (*thutis, thutiyāke*).—Examples. *thvate rājāyā bacan ṅeṅāva* V² 67ᵇ.6 f. "having heard this (just quoted) word of the king" (not "the word of this king"; *thwote* as an adjective is never connected with nouns denoting living beings). *mām baub kalāt thvatesao saṃmat yāṅāo* Vi 176.3 f. "having taken counsel with these persons: his parents and his wife". *thvates* "in these (just enumerated) circumstances" (C² 9 = *thutis* C¹).

To *thwote* may be added a suffix *-tā* (*thwotetā, thwotitā*) giving to it the meaning "all this, all these"; and referring to inanimate objects only.

uti, and (only in N) *ute* "the same". *yāṅā kāryy sidhalasā. uti phal-aṃ lāyuva* H² 15ᵇ.1 f. "if they succeed in what they have attempted, they will receive the same reward". 58

In the sense of "the same as, like, alike", *uti* is constructed with the sociative. *thva maṇikayā kiraṇ śrī sūryyayā kiraṇava uti jusyaṃ coṅ* M 3ᵇ.8 "the rays of this ruby were like the rays of the sun". *duo. byāo uti juyāo* Vi 51.3 "being alike in length and width".

Note. *ute dhāre* "in equal shares" (N 37ᵇ. 7).

59 The suffix *li* (rarely *le*) forms quantitative demonstratives. They are *thwoli* (rarely *thwole*; later form *thuli*); *woli*, more frequently *uli*, in N also *ule*; *āma-li* (in younger MSS only, and always with a long initial *ā-*); all of them denoting "so much, so many".—To these forms may be added a suffix *-to*, *-ta* without change of meaning; *āma-lito*, *-lita* are more frequent than the simple *āma-li*. From *thwoli* are derived other enlarged forms, as *thwoli-ma-chi* (also *thuli-ma-chi*) "so much", and the rare form *thwoli-tete* (also written *thwole-teti*, *thwole-titi*) "so many".—Examples. *thuli dhāyāo* Vi 63.32 "having said so much". *chan āma-lito kṛpā datañās. je paramānand juro* Ś 165ª.1 f. "since you have so much mercy, I am beside myself with joy". *thvales* "of so many" (H² 19ᵇ.2 = *thvaḷtetes* H¹ 27ᵇ.1).

60 The suffix *-thi-* forms qualitative demonstratives. —It seems that originally it had the form *-thiṅ*, when used alone, and *-thi(ṃ)* before other suffixes (*-hma* etc.).

1. *thathiṅ*, later *thathiṃ* "someone or someting like this". More frequent forms are *thathiṃ-hma*, *thathiṃ-gwo* (note *-gwo* for *-gu*); rare forms are *thathiṅ-hma*, *thathiṅ-gu*, and also *thathiṃ-gu*.—Examples. *thathiṃhava gathya biśvās ma chārā* H¹ 16ª.3 "how should I not venture a friendship with someone like this = *thathiṃ-hmayāke gathya biśvās ma chālā* H² 11ᵇ.2 f. *thvayā thathiṃ-gva saridan. pi rāto. jhajesta . . . gāk* H¹ 86ª.4 f. "such a body as his is sufficient for us for four months". *thathiṃṅ-gū bastuk* P 6ᵇ.7 "such objects".—A plural is found P 49ª.6 *thathi-pani* "such people".

2. *amathiṃ*, *amathiṃ-gwo* and *āmathiṅ*, *āmathiṃ-gwo*, *-gu*, *-guli* seem to be used only of inanimate objects "something like that". *āmathiṃ-gū svān* B 33.31 "such a flower".

amathiṃ-gva hlāya ma tele H² 97ª.4 "you must not say such things".

3. *uthiṃ*, *uthiṃ-gwo* "the same", "of the same kind". *thamabo uthiṃ-gva jāti strī* N 34ª.7 "a wife from the same caste as himself".—Not frequent.

4. Rare forms are *thwothiṅ*, *thwothiṃ-gwo*; *athiṃ*, *athiṅ*, *athiṃ-gwo*, of the same meaning as 1.

Note 1. The form *thathiṃ-gwo-hma* really consists of two words "someone *(gwo-hma)* like this *(thathiṃ)*".

Note 2. There are a few occurrences of *-thĕ-* for *-thi-*: *thathyaṅ u ratn juyiva* B 17.25 "this jewel will be something like that".

Note 3. On 1 as adverb see § 186.

The suffixes *-lo* and *-to* are but rarely found. We find 61 *thwolo* "this", *thwoloto* "all this, all these", *thvalatā padārth* N 45ª.5 "the following objects"; *thwoto* "this".

Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns.

thawo is the reflexive pronoun for all persons. The 62 following cases occur

Gen.	*thawo*; *thawokeyā* (N)	Loc.	*thawoke*
Dat.	*thawota*	Abl.	*thawoken*

Examples. *thava putr-pani. śāstr ma sava bhārapaṃ* H¹ 4ª.3 "reflecting that his sons did not know the śāstras". *āvayā thavake biśvās yācake* ib. 34ª.3 "now I will make them trust me". *hṅāthyaṃ je murkh juyāva. thavata ayogy bastu. āsā yāṅāva saṅā* Bh 141ª.6 f. "formerly being a fool, I longed for things that were beneath me".—*thawo* may also mean "own": *je. thava. svāmī* H² 81ᵇ.6 "my own husband".—It is never used as an object; in this position its place is taken by the following word.

63 *thama* "self". *thaman yāṅā karmayā phal thaman-aṃ bhog yāṅāo julaṃ* Vi 127.1 f. "a man will have to taste himself the fruits of the deeds he himself has done".—As object: *thamaṃ hnāpā. sīk lipā tayāva vanaṃ* B 113.30 "he went along, placing himself at the head, the dead body in the rear".

Note. *thwowo* and *thwoma* are in a few cases found for *thawo* and *thama*.

64 *thethe*, younger *thithi*, is the reciprocal pronoun. *thethe ghas puṅāva* H[2] 22[b].2 "embracing each other". *thithiṃ khvāl svayāva* B 55.28 "looking into the face of each other". —Even an agential is found: *thithiṃsyanaṃ. je sā thva-hma dhakaṃ. kacār juyāva* Bh 155[a].4 "a quarrel having arisen, each saying to the other, it is my cow".

The loan-word *anyonyan* is found, too; and the combinations *thithi anyonyan, thithi paraspar*; mostly in the younger MSS.

Interrogative Pronouns.

65 There are different words for living beings and for inanimate objects; *su* "who?", *chu* "what?".—Besides these we find *gwo, gu* "which?", and forms from the base *ga-*.—Used substantivally the interrogatives are placed at the end of a sentence immediately before the verb. They are also used as relative pronouns, see § 207.

66 *su* "who?"—The following cases are found

Nom.	*su*	Dat.	*suyāta, suta* (?)
Agent.	*sunān*	Loc.	*suyāke*
Gen.	*suyā*	Soc.	*suwo*

Note the unusual form of the agential. *suta* is perhaps an error. A plural occurs B 29.5: *su-pani khe* "who are

they?"—Examples. *thva kanyā su* V[1] 10[b].3 "who is this girl?"; *thva rājyeyā bhārā sunān-aṃ kāyio* Ś 168[a].6 "who will take upon himself the burden of this kingdom?"; used adjectivally: *su mocātasyanaṃ tyā chita* B 18.28 "what boys have decided it?"

chu (in H[1] also *cho*) "what?". Used adjectivally "what 67
a..., what kind of...", found also with living beings: *chu kalāt* B 132.4 "what kind of a wife".—The only cases found are *chuyā, chuyāta* in the sence of "why?, what for?".

gwo, gu "what, which?"—Mostly with *-hma, -gu, -guli*. 68
—gva belas M 30[a].8 "at what time?" *chan puruṣ gva-hma* Ś 149[b].3 "which is your husband?" *gu-gu prakāran* Vi 18.16 "in which manner?".

With suffixes. a. *gwote, gute* "which". Only in N, and always as a relative pronoun.—b. *gwolito*; *gulito, -ta* "how much? how many?" *sandhiyā prakār gvalito* H[2] 115[a].7 "how many kinds of peace are found?". In Vi *gulita, -to* mostly has the meaning "which?".—c. *gwolo, gwola-hma, gwoloto, gwolato* with the same meaning as b.

Note. Combinations of two interrogatives occur, as *gadhas. sunān. gva-hman mi tala* H[2] 99[a]. 3 "who has set fire to the fortress?"

ga- is only found with the suffix *-thi-. gathiṅ*; *gathiṃ-* 69
hma, -gwo, -gu "what kind of". *gathiṃ-gva thāy* H[1] 54[b].4 "what kind of place?"—Before adjectives "how": *gathiṃṅ ji bhāgy* Vi 29.1 "how fortunate I am!".

Indefinite Pronouns.

The interrogatives are used as indefinite pronouns either 70
alone, or more frequently with suffixes. The suffixes are

-*nwoṃ* (younger -*naṃ*, less frequently -*nuṃ*), and the weakened form -*aṃ* (cf. § 202). They are added either immediately to the base or to an intermediate -*chi*- or -*khi*-.—When the interrogatives alone are used as indefinite pronouns, the suffix -*nwoṃ* etc. is frequently added to other words in the sentence.—In connection with *ma* "not" the indefinite pronouns signify "no, none, nothing".

71 1. *su* forms *su-nwoṃ* etc., *su-chi-nwoṃ* etc. "someone, anyone".—In Ś there occur *sunaṅ*, *sunuṅ*.

2. *cho*, *chu* forms *chu-nwoṃ* etc. and *cho-khi-nwoṃ* etc. "something, anything". (Conrady Gramm. p. 23 has *chu-chinaṃ*).

3. *gwo*, *gu*. The following forms are found: *gwo-hmaṃ*, *gwo-chi-naṃ*, *gu-chi-naṃ* "some, any". More frequent are *gwoliṃ*, *guliṃ*, and especially *guli-chi-nwoṃ* etc.; mostly in the sense of "some, any", less frequently with the (original) meaning "some or any quantity of".

72 Of cases there occur

Agent.	*sunān-aṃ*; *gwo-hmasēn-aṃ*, *guli-chisēn-aṃ*		
Gen.	*suyā-ṃ*, *suyā-noṃ*	Dat.	*suyāta-naṃ*, *su-chiyāta*
Instr.	*gwo-hman-aṃ*	Soc.	*suwo-ṃ*

73 Examples. *suyāṃ svabhāb mur* H[1] 19[a].2 "the character of anyone is the main thing". *meb sunān-aṃ ma twoṅ-gu laṃkha* Vi 35.3 f. "water nobody else drinks". *cho upāyan-aṃ sebarape māl* H[2] 51[b].6 "one must honour him in any way". *cho yatn yāṃṅa-noṃ* N 2[a].7 "making any effort". *gwo belas-aṃ* ... *ma* means "never". *gu-chinaṃ* ... *guri-chinaṃ* ... *gva-chinaṃ* Bh 55[a].2 ff. "some ..., some ..., some ...". Frequently *gvachinaṃ cha-guli nagaras* "in a certain town".

The numerals for "one" as Indefinite Pronouns. 74

The forms *cha-naṃ*, *cha-nuṃ*, *cha-ṃ*; *chi-naṃ* occur in a few instances, mostly in connection with *ma*: *jita ādhār mebatā cha-nuṃ ma du* Vi 51.30 "I have no other support".—Frequently we find *chatā(ṃ)* (also *chatā-naṃ*, *chatāṅ*) ... *ma* meaning "nothing". *thvateyā hun. chatā dhāyaṃ ma chārā* V[2] 74[b].1 "therefore I dare say nothing". *rātrīs. chatāṃ khane ma du* V[1] 95[b].6 "nothing can be seen in the night".—See also § 80.

Indefinite Relatives. 75

"whoever, whatever, whichever" is expressed by means of *gwona* (Instr. *gwonan*) and *gwona-khu* (-*hma*). Also by duplicating the relative pronoun; see § 217.

Pronominal Adjectives.

dakwo (less frequently *dayā*) "all, whole"; mostly after the noun. Cases: Agent. *dakwosēn*, Gen. *dakwos*, *dakwosayā*. 76

sakalē, *sakal*, and *samast* are the usual words for "all". When occurring alone or after a noun, they have the forms *sakalēṃ*, *samastaṃ*.—Cases: Agent. *sakalasēn*, *sakalasan* (N); *samastasēn*. Gen. *sakalasaṃ*, *sakalasayāṃ*; *samastayāṃ*. In the later language shortened forms are found, Gen. *sakasyā*, Agent. *sakasēnaṃ*.—*sakal-tāṃ* (later *saka-tāṃ*) means "all, whole", and is used of inanimate objects only.

tapaṃ "all, whole"; always after the noun, which takes the suffix -*n* (or -*ṃ*): *bayan tapaṃ* N 19[a].3 "all expenses". *rājyaṃn tapaṃ* Ś 156[a].4 "the whole kingdom".

aneg (rarely *anek*), *nānā* "many".—*bhati*, *ci-bhāy* "some, a little".—*tal* "more"; *hmo* "less".—*ādi(n)*, *ādipaṃ* "and others" (always after the noun).

meba, mebu "other"; *-hma* may be added. *mel-hma* (rare) id.—*mebatā, mebutā* of inanimate objects only.

jukwo "only" is an adjective in Newārī; cf. *bacan-mātr jukvan* H^2 78^b.6 "merely through a word".

On "each" see § 217 c.

NUMERALS

77 The numbers are counted by Tens.—Generally the same forms are used for cardinals as well as for ordinals.—The numerals are

1 *cha; chi*	9 *gu*	50 *ṅaya*
2 *nĕ, ni*	10 *ji, jhi*	60 *khuya*
3 *swoṃ*	11 *jim-cha*	70 *hnaya*
4 *pĕ, pi*	12 *jim-nĕ, -ni*	80 *caya*
5 *ṅā*	20 *niya*	90 *guya*
6 *khu*	21 *niya cha*	100 *sat-chi, sal-chi*
7 *hnas*	30 *suya*	200 *nĕ sat*
8 *cyā*	40 *piya*	1000 *dwol-chi*

78 *ni, pi, sal-chi* are later forms. For 100 also *sa-chi* (*sa-cchi*) and even *sla-chi* is found. *jhi* is perhaps a dialectal form. On *cha, chi* see below.—*sat* "100" without *chi* is found in a few cases before nouns, *sat hasti* V^1 78^b.1 "a hundred elephants" = *hasti śat-chi* V^2 49^a.1.—500 is *ṅa sal.* For 100 000 there occurs the loan-word *lak, lakh, lakṣ*: *jim-cyā rak* Ś 168^b.3 "1 800 000".—In composition with other numerals *sat-chi* and *dwol* are put in the sociative; *sa-chiba niya ṅā* V^2 27^a.1 "125"; *jim-ṣu dolava śat-chiva cyā-hma* Bh 185^a.1 "16 108".

79 The simple numerals are placed before the noun; *nya mocā* Bh 106^a.6 "two children"; but they are rarely found.

Much more frequently they take the suffixes *-hma, -guli, -tā,* or are combined with class-words (see § 82. 83).

The numerals for "one". *cha* is used with class-words and with *-hma, -guli*; *chi* is found after *sat, dwol, lakṣ*, and after words like *kāl* "time", *bāl, hni* "day" (also *yojan chi* "one mile"), and after *cā* "a night", *lā* "a month", *bā* "a half", which in this case are shortened to *ca, la, ba* (cf. § 11). 80

cha is used frequently in the sense "some, a certain", or with a meaning not differing essentially from that of an indefinite article; then always in the form *cha-hma, cha-guli. mr̥g cha-hma rāṅāva* H^1 72^b.4 "having caught a gazelle". *cha-gulī sthānas. Kāñcanapurī nām nagar. cha-gurī dasĕṃ coṅ* Vi 16.26 "in a (certain) region was a town, called K".—Used substantivally *cha-hma, cha-guli* means "someone, something"; with *ma* "nothing" (see also § 74). —*cha-hma* may mean "alone, only". *ji cha-hma* "I alone", *putr cha cha-hma* "one only son".

Declension of the Numerals. 81

As the simple numerals are used before nouns only, we are merely concerned with the inflection of the forms with *-hma* and *-guli*, of which *-hma* shows some peculiarities:

Agent.	*-hmasĕṃ, -hmasĕn*	Loc.	*-hmayāke*
Gen.	*-hmayā, -hmasayā, -hmas*	Instr.	*-hman*
Dat.	*-hmayāta*	Soc.	*-hmasawo*

-hmas only occurs as a partitive genitive. Ś 165^a.3 occurs a dative *ni-hmastayāta.*

Class-words. 82

The most frequent are the following.

gwol (older *gwoḍ*) for round or bulky objects. *ratn sva gvaḍ* V^2 67^a.7 "three jewels"; *ghaṃṭ cha gvaḍ* H^2 59^b.1 "a bell".—Metaph. *ni gol ākhal* P 24^a.3 "two syllables".

pā for parts of the body or ornaments, found by pairs. *ne pā tuti* C^1 231 "two legs".—Also *ṣu pā hnas-pot* H^2 83^b.2 "six ears".

pā(ṃ)ti id. *mikhā ni pāṃli* M 33^a.2 "two eyes".

mā for trees. *simā cha mā* H^1 12^a.3 "a tree".

pu for objects of a longish shape. *sa cha pu* B 131.4 "a hair". *gā cha puṃ* V^2 8^b.3 "a cloak". *śiok ni pun* H^1 3^b.1 "with two verses".

ca, la (cf. § 7 a) are used as class-words in *cā ca chi* B 76.23 "one night". *mās la chi* Vi 58.28 "one month".

Note also instances like *da jhi da* Vi 123.10 "ten years", *çāk cha cākan* H^1 6^b.1 "with one wheel".

83 The suffixes *-hma, -guli, -tā,* though no real class-words, are used in much the same way.

1. *-hma* is used with great frequency for living beings. *brāhmaṇ-pani sva-hma* V^2 17^b.1 "three brahmans". *mes cyā-hma* Ś 151^b.6 "eight buffaloes". *thva-pani ne-hma* "these two".

2. *-guli* is rarely found, except in *cha-guli* (§ 80). It refers by preference to large objects, like sea, town and the like. *pe-guri samudr* C^1 293 "four oceans". Note *ṅā-guli mikhā* "five eyes" Nā 14^a.1.

3. *-tā* is used by preference of abstract ideas, and after enumerations of objects which would require different class-words. *khu-tā dokh* H^1 23^a.3 "six faults". *cha-tā guṇ* C^1 21 "one virtue". *māṃ. babu. thava svabhāb. thva sva-tā* H^1 24^b.5 "mother, father, his own nature, these three".—But also *pya-tā tisā* "four ornaments" B 66.18.

Note. *nĕ-hma, ni-hma; nĕ-guli, ni-guli* may mean "both"; *ni-guli* also "a pair".—In instances like *rājā mantri ni-hmasĕnam* Vi 50.3 f. the meaning is something like "both the king and the minister".—On *cha-tā* as an indef. pron. see § 74.

In connection with numerals nouns rarely take a plural ending (an ex. § 83,1), but pronouns are rarely found without. *thva-pani swo-hma* "these three". *cha-pani ne-hma* "you two". 84

Ordinals. 85

As stated above (§ 77) the ordinary numerals are mostly used as ordinals also. *ra chiyā* Bh 8^a.7 "of the first month". *sva-guli paṭal* P 11^b.2 "the third hell".—But in connection with nouns denoting living beings special ordinals are formed by means of *-hma-hma. ne-hma-hma Indra* H^2 74^b.2 "a second Indra". *ṅā-hma-hma brāhmaṇ* M 8^b.6 "a fifth brahman".

Note. Words like *hṅawo, hṅāpā, ādi* may be used to denote "the first".

Rarer forms. 86

a. Fractions. A few instances are found in N. *pyaṃ bos chi bo* 2^a.5 "a fourth part" (lit. "one part out of four").

b. Distributiva. Formed by means of duplication *chi chi-guḍi rāṣṭras* N 50^a.2 "in each realm". *ni-hma ni-khe vane* B 35.15 "we will both go each in his direction". *pe hnu hnus* (spelt *hnu2s*) "once in four days" (Vd 19^a.6).

Other numerical Derivatives. 87

a. *-dĕ(n), -bol* (rare) "-fold". *buddhi juraṃ mi-janayā pe-dya* H^2 65^b.2 "(her) cunning is four times that of a man".

b. *-bāl, -pol, -hnaṃ* "time". *śat-chi-bār* Vi 84.24 "a hundred times". *sva-pol* "thrice". *cha-polan* "all at once" (Vi 118.15). *cha-hnaṃ* "once" N 31^b.7.

c. *-tārin(aṃ). cha-tārinaṃ* H^2 16^b.6 f. "all at once" (only example).

d. *-khĕ. cha-khĕ* "aside, apart". *pe-kheṃ* "in four directions" (B 59.31).

e. *-bhin.* only *cha-bhin* "aside, apart".

f. Dubious is *-te* in *ne-te sva-te* "thwice or thrice (?)" Vd 36^a.5.

88 Finally we may mention the words *bā* "a half", *tyā* "a half added", *dugan-chi* (also *dugaṃ-, duguṇ-, dugn-, dugon-* (N)) "double".—For *bā* which is always placed before the noun, is mostly found *ba chi,* which usually comes after the noun. For *dugan-chi* there occurs in a few instances the tatsama *dviguṇ.*—Examples: *bā lā* H^3 27^a.6 "half a month". *thava. āyu. ba chī biyāva* V^1 93^b.1 "giving half his life time". *gomūtrayāṃ ba chi gomay* P 65^a.6 f. "half as much cowdung as cow-urine".—*ra tyās* H^1 49^b.1 "in a month and a half".—*misājanayā āhār mi-janayā dugan-chi* H^2 65^b.2 "the nourishment of a woman is twice as much as that of a man".

89 Some numerical expressions of time. *hni hni chiyā* H^2 49^b.7 "every day".—*pi lāto* ib. 45^b.5 "during four months". —*sva cā pya hnuto* B 34.11 "three days and nights" (= Sa. *trirāṣṭra*).—*cha hnu aṃtar* Vd 19^a.5 "every other day".—*khu rān hn̈ā* H^1 9^b.5 "within six months".—*sva dan lithan* V^2 64^b.7 "after a lapse of three years".—*thanin pĕ hnu* Vi 82.5 "four days from to-day".—*jim-khu dayā taruṇi* B 33.27 "sixteen years old".— *hnas da dava-hma bārak* Bh 36^b.1 "a seven years old boy".—*pe-hma. cyā-hma lok* Ś 160^a.1 "seven, eight people" (lit. four, eight p.").

Note. With numerals the word for "day" is mostly *hnu,* instead of *hni.*

VERBS

Form and Inflection of the Verb.

Newārī verbs are of three kinds, primary verbs, verbal phrases, and derivatives. The primary verbs are all of Ne. origin, the verbal phrases only in part; there is only one genuine derivative form, the causative; the denominatives are all derived from loan-words. 90

Primary verbs. 91

They have monosyllabic roots with a final consonant, which in most verbs appears in some of the forms only, whereas in the others it has been amalgamated with the suffix that follows. According to these consonants, the primary verbs can be divided into four classes, the first three having an unstable consonant, the fourth retaining its consonant through all forms. (On a 5th class see § 96).

I. Class. Verbs in *-n. ka-n* "to tell", *da-n* "to rise", *ti-n* "to put", *pu-n* "to cover", *ṅe-n* "to ask", *sĕ-n* "to learn", *ho-n* "to join together", *jwo-n* "to seize".

II. Class. Verbs in *-t. gyā-t* "to fear", *yā-t* "to do", *si-t* "to die", *phu-t* "to perish", *be-t* "to pass away", *co-t* "to write".

III. Class. Verbs in an unstable *-l. na-l* "to eat", *ha-l* "to bring", *kā-l* "to take", *tā-l* "to perceive", *ti-l* "to adorn oneself", *bi-l* "to give", *bu-l* "to be borne", *bĕ-l* "to fly", *swo-l* "to regard".

IV. Class. Verbs in an unchangeable *-l. chāl-* "to like", *hil-* "to change", *sul-* "to hide", *hn̈el-* "to laugh".

Note 1. Roots with *ā* are not found in the first class (instances like *tā-n* : *ta-n* "to vanish" are merely orthographical variants. See § 9). In the II. class *-a-* does not occur, but *-ā-* is frequent. Verbs of the IV. class are comparatively rare. On *da-t, pha-t, kha-t* see § 110 c.

Note 2. There are some irregularities, and, in the later language, fluctuations between the classes (mostly III:IV, less frequently II:III). See § 108.

92 **Verbal phrases.** They are of two kinds.

a. preverbs + primary root. *ghas pu-n* "to embrace", *cat ka-n* "to blossom out", *cat phu-n* "to tear asunder", *tap chyā-t* id., *tok dhul-* "to be broken", *tok pu-l* "to cover", *bhok pu-l* "to bend down", *lawo hlā-t* "to hand over", *lu ma-n* "to remember", *lol ma-n* "to forget". —The preverbs are found only in this connection.

b. loan-words with the Ne. verbs *ju-l* "to become", *yā-t* "to do", *cā-l* "to awake" (rarely *ta-l* "to do", *da-t* "to be"). *garjay yā-t* "to thunder", *jitay yā-t* "to conquer", *jāgart yā-t* "to keep watch", *jāgart ju-l* "to awake" (also *jāgart dayaka-l* "to awaken"), *mocan yā-t* "to destroy", *mocan ju-l* "to perish"; *śocanā yā-t* "to be sorry, to lament"; *cā-l* is found only with nouns denoting a state of mind, and expresses getting into this state: *tam cā-l* "to become angry", *bismay cā-l* "to become astonished" ("to be astonished" is *bismay yā-t*).

Note. Verbal phrases of the form b may be used as terms of respect: *bhojan yā-t* "to eat" for *na-l; prahār yā-t* "to beat" for *dā-l, darśan yā-t* "to see" for *swo-l* etc.

93 **Derivatives.**

Denominatives are derived from loan-words (mostly the present base of a Sanskrit verb), by means of the suffix *-pa-l* with an intermediate *-la-*. *ninda-la-pa-l* "to blame", *cinta-la-pa-l* "to think", *jāya-la-pa-l* "to be borne", *bhukta-la-pa-l* "to enjoy", *kṣamā-la-pa-l* "to agree to".—In a few words the *-la-* is wanting: *paṭa-pa-l* "to read", *yinā-pa-l* "to speak".

The suffix of the Causative is *-ka-l*. Before it, the base of verbs of the I. class mostly ends in *-na*, of the II. class in *-ca*, less frequently *-ta* (§ 9), of the III. class in *-ya*, of the IV. class in *-la*. I *khana-ka-l* from *kha-n* "to see", *twona-ka-l* from *two-n* "to drink". II *yāca-ka-l* or *yāta-ka-l* from *yā-t* "to do", *puca-ka-l* from *pu-t* "to burn". III *biya-ka-l* from *bi-l* "to give", *kāyà-ka-l* from *kā-l* "to take". IV *pula-ka-l* from *pul-* "to pay". 94

Note. In N there occurs one instance of *seṃja-ka-l* (12ª. 3) for *sĕna-ka-l* from *sĕ-n* "to teach".

Less frequently the Causative is formed in the following way. 95

a. the suffix is added directly to the root. *yā-ka-l* (besides *yācaka-l, yātaka-l* § 94), *co-ka-l* (besides *coca-ka-l*) from *co-t* "to write", *ha-ka-l* (besides *hayaka-l*) from *ha-l* "to bring". *na-ka-l* from *na-l* "to eat". Note *twoṃ-ka-l* from *two-n* (cf. § 94).—All these forms seem to belong to the later language.

b. in N only is found the suffix *-kā-ka-l*. *khā-kā-ka-l* from *khā-t* "to cut", *de-kā-ka-l* (besides *de-ka-l*) from *de-n* "to cut off", *jiya-kā-ka-l* (besides *jiya-ka-l*) from *ji-l* "to be able".

Note. Traces are found of an older way of forming the causative, by aspirating the initial consonant of the root. *gyā-t* "to be afraid": *khyā-t* "to frighten", *da-n* "to rise": *tha-n* "to arouse" etc.

The Denominatives and Causatives form a V. Class of verbs. In this class must be included compound verbs like *tā-tha-l* "to leave behind", *twol-ta-l* "to abandon", *bho-pa-l* "to eat", *sal-ta-l* "to call" and others, which are actually verbal phrases, the elements of which have lost their inde- 96

pendence.—This class was no doubt originally identical with the III. class, but most of the forms from the short base have been weakened or contracted.

97 The Causative of (the non-causative) verbs of this class has usually the form *-ya-ka-l*. *jāyalapa-ya-ka-l* "to cause to be borne". Other forms are found, as *phalalapa-ka-l* "to cause to bear fruit" (C^{2} 93), *bho-pĕ-ka-l* "to give to eat" (V^{2} 47^{a}.4), *chedarapā-ka-l* "to cause to cut off" (N 51^{b}.2).

The Inflection of the Verb.

98 The inflection of the Newārī verb is characterized by the preponderance of nominal and adverbial forms, and the scarcity of finite forms. (See Introduction).

99 For the purpose of inflection we can distinguish two bases, a shorter and a longer one. As examples may be chosen I *ka-n* : *kana-* "to tell", II *yā-t* : *yāta-* "to do", III *bi-l* : *bila-* "to give", IV *māl-* : *māla-* "to seek", V *naka-l*: *nakala-* "to cause to eat".

From the short base are derived twelve forms (A 1—12), from the long base seven (B 1—7). In addition we find some forms (C 1—8), which are formed by a close combination of the root, less frequently a verbal form, and an originally independent word, mostly an adverb.

Note. I have desisted from naming the single forms, but have been content to designate them by letters and numbers, giving parenthetically approximative terms by way of explanation.

100 A. Forms from the short base (*ka-n*, *yā-t*, *bi-l*, *māl-*, *naka-l*).

1 (a finite verb). The endings are I *-naṃ*, II *-taṃ*, III *-laṃ*, IV, V id. Under certain conditions (see § 118) *-a* or *-o* appears for *-aṃ*, rarely *-ā*. On *-e* see § 110.

2 (an imperative). I *-ṅo*, *-ṅa*. *-wo*, II *-wo*, III *-wo*, IV (wanting), V *-i*, *-iwo*, *-ine*, *-ina*. In I *-ṅo* is the old form, *-ṅa* (also spelt *-na*) is later (cf. § 10 a). The analogical formation *-wo* becomes the usual form in the later language.—The usual form in V is *-iwo* (*tā-thiwo* "leave!").

An other ending, *-yo*, is found in the defective imperatives *wāyo* "come!", *nuyo* (also *nuya*) "let us", *nāyo* "take!".

3 (a habitative). I *-ni*, II, III *-yu*, *-yi*, IV *-li*, V *-i*. To these endings may be added *-wo* and *-no* (younger MSS have a few cases of *-na*, rarely *-ne*); on the meaning see §§ 121. 122.

-yu : *-yi* are alternative forms, in the younger MSS *-yi* becomes somewhat more frequent, and is there sometimes spelt *-i* (*va'īva* B 130. 29).—For I *-ni* *-nyu* (H^{1}, N) and *-nayu* (N) occur now and then. In V fuller endings may occur, e. g. *mocakayūva* Bh 51^{a}.2 for the usual *mocakiwo*. In V^{1} there are a few instances of *-wono* for *-no* (e. g. 43^{b}.5 *moyuono*).

Note 1. In some more dubious instances there seems to be an ending *-u*, *-uo* for V. An example see § 206 (*tol-tu*).

Note 2. The *-i* and *-u* of these forms are very frequently spelt *-ī*. *-ū*.

4 (a gerundive or infinitive). I *-nĕ*, II, III *-ya*, IV *-lĕ*, V *-ĕ*. In N there occur the alternative forms I *-ṃja*, II *-ca*, III *-ja* (*kaṃja* "to tell" = *kanĕ*, *hlāca* "to speak" = *hlāya*, *seja* "to know" = *seya*).

5 (a relative participle). I *-ṅ*, II *-k*, III *-wo*, IV *-l*, *-lwo*, V *-o*, *-u*.—In IV *-l* is the usual ending, *-lwo* no doubt a new formation.—In V the (older) form *-o* is rarely found; in a few instances a fuller form occurs, e. g. *khanakava* H^{1} 3^{b}.3 (for the usual form *khanaku* from *khanaka-l* "to cause to see").

6 (id.). I, II *-ṅā*, III *-yā*, IV *-lā*, V *-ā*.—On *-nā*, *-nyā* for *-ṅā* see § 10 c.—An alternative form in *-ṅāṅā* occurs in a few cases (error?).—For the forms in *-ṅās*, *-ṅāsẽṃ* see § 102 note.

7 (id.). The ending is *-kwo* throughout. In IV it seems added to the longer base, *mālakwo*. An example of V is *bhālapako* (V^1 75^b.4, from *bhālapa-l* "to think"). In N the I. class may have an anusvāra before the ending, *vaṃko* (12^a.7, from *wo-n* "to go").

8 (an infinitive of purpose). I *-n*, II *-t*, III *-l*, IV, V id., i. e. really the short base without an ending, *kan*, *yāt*, *bil*, *māl*, *nakal*.—N has a few instances of an ending *-nd* (*-ṃd*) for I.

9 (an adverbial participle). I *-ṅaṃ*, II id., III (wanting), IV *-laṃ*, V *-aṃ*.

10 (id.). The ending is *-sẽṃ*.—In I, especially in the younger MSS, an anusvāra is sometimes inserted before it, e. g. *ṅaṃsẽṃ* from *ṅa-n* "to hear". In IV the final *-l* mostly disappears, e. g. *sāsyaṃ* B 107.26, from *sāl-* "to drag". The V. class usually has a short *a* before the ending, but a long *ā* may be found; in a few cases the vowel is *u*, e. g. *nakusẽ* Vi 112.13.—In V^1 there sometimes occurs an alternative form in *-sā* (e. g. *khāsā* 78^a.1).—*-naṃ* may be added (*bisẽnaṃ* "though he gives").

Note. The *-ṃ* of 9 and 10 may be wanting, in a few cases *-n* is found for it (*yāṅan*, *bisẽn*).

11 (a conjunctive participle). The ending is *-le*, less frequently *-len*.—In I an anusvāra may be inserted (e. g. *bhiṃle* C^2 73 from *bhi-n* "to be good").—From IV this form is not found.

12 (id.). Formed by reduplicating the short base, *yā-yāṃ*, *na-naṃ*. In IV and V wanting.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th forms are declinable. The following cases are found **101**

Agent.			*yākasan* (N)	
Gen.	*yāyiyā*	*yāyayā*	*yākayā*, *yākas* (N)	*yāṅāyā*
Dat.		*yāyayāta*		
Loc.		*yāyas*		
Instr.		*yāyan*	*yākan*	*yāṅān*
Soc.		*yāyawo*		*yāṅāwo*
Dir.		*yāyata*		

To the same forms may be added the particles *-hma*, *-gu*, *-guli*, very frequently in the youngest MSS.

B. Forms from the longer base (*kana-*, *yāta-*, *bila-*, *māla-*, *nakala-*). **102**

1 (a conditional). The ending is *-sā*. Derived from this form is

2 (a concessive) with the ending *-sa-nwoṃ*, later *-sa-naṃ* (rarely *-sā-naṃ*). The usual form in the younger MSS is *-sāṃ*.—The younger MSS have alternative forms, derived from A 5, e. g. *mvākasāṃ* from *mvā-t* "to live", *twonakusā* from *twonaka-l* "to cause to drink" for *mvātasā*, *twonakalasā* (even *byākvasā* Bh 14^a.1 from *byā-t* "to agree with").—Short forms, like *dhāsā* from *dhā-l* "to say", *osā*, *oṃsā* (Vi) from *wo-n* "to go" may occur in the younger MSS.—N has *vaṃdasā* from *wo-n* (22^b.2).

3—6 have a common base in *-ṅā* (*kanaṅā-* etc.); 3 has the ending *-ṅāsẽṃ*, 4 *-ṅās*, 5 *-ṅāwo*, 6 *-ṅān* (in N only). 3, 4, 5 are conjunctive participles, 6 a causal.

Note. The base in *-ṅā* alone seems to be found as a conjunctive participle (*sayakaraṅā* N 38^a. 8). For 3 and 4 short forms are sometimes found (*lvāṅās* N 42^b. 8, *puṅāsyaṃ* H^2 49^b. 2).

7. Finally we may note a form in *-sëṃ* (*yātasëṃ*, in N *vandasyaṃ*), but it is doubtful, if this is not merely a new formation for A 10.

103 C. Compound Forms.

1 (an imperative). Root + *hune, huna* (more modern *-huni, -huṃ, -huwo*), which is found independently to signify "go!".—Vi 88.23 has *-hvane*.

2 (id.). Root + *hṅān*, less frequently *-ṅān* (cf. § 9). Mostly in V^1.

3 (a polite imperative). Root + *sane* (a few cases of *-sa*); formed from a few verbs only, as *di-sane* "please!", *jhā-sane* "come!"

4 Root + *-tole, -tale* (also *-tolen, -talen, -toleṃ, -tolenoṃ, -toleyā*. The forms with *o* are the oldest, cf. § 10 a) "until". Verbs of I may insert an anusvāra (*vaṃ-tolen* H^2 52^a.5). —Forms like *biva-tola* (B 27.21) are new formations. Note *lāva-tolenaṃ* (B 94.7) from *lā-t* "to reach".

5 Root + *-tunuṃ*, less frequently *-tunaṃ* "immediately after". Mostly an *-s* is inserted, e. g. *dhā-s-tunaṃ* V^1 39^b.4 from *dhā-l* "to speak" (= *dhā-tunaṃ* V^2 26^a.2). In the younger MSS there occur new formations like *dhuṅa-s-tunuṃ* (Ś 165^b.4, from *dhu-n* "to finish"), *thiya-s-tunuṃ* (B 74.9, from *thi-l* "to touch"), *dava-tunuṃ* (P 3^a.5, from *da-t* "to be").

6 Root + *-kāle*; in N only. Note *khaṃ-kāle* from *kha-n* "to see" (23^a.2).

Note. *juva-kāle* B 44.31 is dubious.

7. Root + *-wola*; in N only. ~~E. g.~~ *mvā-vala* 37^b.4.

8. Root + *-tu*. Used for forming Intensives.

104 Finally some less frequent formations may be noted. For A 1 are found enlarged forms in *-gwo* and *-yo, ya*;

e. g. *yāta-gva* H^1 44^a.6, *yala-go* V^2 17^a.4 (from *ë-l* "to wish"); *dhenayo* H^2 63^b.3 (from *dhë-n* "to cut off").—From *co-n* "to sit" (very rarely from other verbs) is formed *coṃ-gwo*, being an alternative form for A 5 (*coṅ*).—Vi has a few instances of *bisë-ka-l* as causative of *bi-l* "to flee", e. g. 119.22. —The root itself may be used with the same meaning as most of the shorter forms.

Conjugation of the Verb.

A. Forms from the short Base 105

1	*kanaṃ*	*yātaṃ*	*bilaṃ*	*mālaṃ*	*nakalaṃ*
	kana	*yāta*	*bila*	*māla*	*nakala*
	kano	*yāto*	*bilo*	*mālo*	*nakalo*
2	*kaṅo*, [*kawo*	*yāwo*	*biwo*		*naki, nakiwo*, [*nakine*
3	*kani*	*yāyu, -yi*	*biyu, -yi*	*māli*	*naki*
	kaniwo	*yāyuwo*, [*-yiwo*	*biyuwo*, [*-yiwo*	*māliwo*	*nakiwo*
	kanino	*yāyuno*, [*-yino*	*biyuno* [*-yino*	*mālino*	*nakino*
4	*kanë*	*yāya*	*biya*	*mālë*	*nakë*
5	*kaṅ*	*yāk*	*biwo*	*māl*	*naku*
6	*kaṅā*	*yāṅā*	*biyā*	*mālā*	*nakā*
7	*ka(ṃ)kwo*	*yākwo*	*bikwo*	*mālakwo*	*nakakwo*
8	*kan*	*yāt*	*bil*	*māl*	*nakal*
9	*kaṅaṃ*	*yāṅaṃ*		*mālaṃ*	*nakaṃ*
10	*ka(ṃ)sëṃ*	*yāsëṃ*	*bisëṃ*	*māsëṃ*	*nakăsëṃ*
11	*ka(ṃ)le*	*yāle*	*bile*		*nakale*
12	*ka-kaṃ*	*yā-yāṃ*	*bi-biṃ*		

106 B. Forms from the longer Base

1	*kanasā*	*yātasā*	*bilasā*	*mālasā*	*nakalasā*
2	*kanasanwoṃ*	*yātasanwoṃ*	*bilasanwoṃ*	*mālasanwoṃ*	*nakalasanwoṃ*
	kanasāṃ	*yātasāṃ*	*bilasāṃ*	*mālasāṃ*	*nakalasāṃ*
3	*kanaṅāsẽṃ*	*yātaṅāsẽṃ*	*bilaṅāsẽṃ*	*mālaṅāsẽṃ*	*nakalaṅāsẽṃ*
4	*kanaṅās*	*yātaṅās*	*bilaṅās*	*mālaṅās*	*nakalanās*
5	*kanaṅāwo*	*yataṅāwo*	*bilaṅāwo*	*mālaṅāwo*	*nakalaṅāwo*
6	*kanaṅān*	*yātaṅān*	*bilaṅān*	*mālaṅān*	*nakalaṅān*
7	*kanasẽṃ*	*yātasẽṃ*	*bilasẽṃ*	*mālasẽṃ*	

107 C. Compound Forms

1	*ka-hune*	*yā-hune*	*bi-hune*		*naka-hune*
4	*ka(ṃ)-tole*	*yā-tole*	*bi-tole*		*naka-tole*
5	*ka(ṃ)s-tunuṃ*	*yā-s-tunuṃ*	*bi-s-tunuṃ*		
6	*ka(ṃ)-kāle*	*yā-kāle*	*bi-kāle*		*naka-kāle*
8	*ka-tu*	*yā-tu*	*bi-tu*	*māl-tu*	

Note. This is an ideal table. Not all forms given here are found in the MSS.—Of C I have given only the most commonly occurring forms.

108 **Irregularities.**

These are of two kinds; see § 91 note 2.

a. the following instances seem to be old.

wo-n "to go": the imperative is expressed by means of *hune* etc. (see § 103,1).

hṅā-t "to be alike": 5th form *hṅāk, hṅāwo,* 6th form *hṅāyā.*

co-t "to write": 1st form *cotaṃ,* 5th *cok,* causative *cocaka-l*; the other forms from a base *co-l.*

cho-l "to send": 1st form mostly *chotaṃ*; the longer base seems always to be *chota-*.

ta-l "to do": when used as an auxiliary, especially in N, rarely in other MSS, the following shortened forms occur, A 2. *ti, tiwo,* 4. *tẽ,* 6. *tā,* 9. *taṃ,* 10. *tisẽṃ* (cf. § 11).

twol-ta-l "to leave behind": mostly regular, but the following anomalous forms are found: A 3 *tor-talayiva* V^2 $9^b.3$, 6 *tol-tayā* V^1 $120^a.6$, *tol-tuṅāva* M $19^b.3$.

dhā-l "to speak": forms with a short *a* are found, *dhayāva* H^3 $19^b.10$, *dhaṃko* N $4^b.5$. Frequently *dhakaṃ, dhakāwo,* see §§ 210—213.

na-l "to eat": A 2 always *niwo,* 4 mostly *nẽ.*

mo-l "to perish": A 5 *mok*; causative *mocaka-l.*

hlā-t "to speak": usually II. class, but forms from the III. class (*hlā-l*) are found.

swo-l "to regard": mostly regular, but A 1 may be *swotaṃ,* and the longer base *swota-*. The caus. is always *swocaka-l* or *swota-ka-l.*

ha-l "to bring": A 2 always *hi, hiwo,* 4 may be *hẽ* (esp. in N).

b. of later irregularities may be mentioned: caus. *gāyaka-l* from *gāl-* "to fan", *cāyaka-l* from *cāl-* "to open"; A 5 *chāwo, māwo* from *chāl-* "to like", *māl-* "to be necessary". *thu-l* besides *thul-* "to possess", *si-l* besides *sil-* "to wash", *ṅā-l* besides *ṅā-t* "to bite".

Auxiliaries.

These are *da-t* "to be, to exist", *kha-t* "to be", *pha-t* 109
"to be able", *ju-l* "to become", *ji-l* "to be able", *te-l* "to be proper", *māl-* "to be necessary" (also *mvāl-* cf. § 9), *te-n, ta-n* "to be about, to be willing".

Of these *te-n, ta-n* is regular. To the inflection of the 110
others, the following remarks apply:

a. after *ma* "not" all of them have an alternative 1st form in *-e* (e. g. *date, jule, tele*), the 1st form in *-o* is more frequent than from other verbs.

b. *te-l* and *māl-* have the short forms *te, mā* for A 5, the former only after *ma*, the latter in the younger MSS.

c. the first three are quite irregular, being weakened from fuller forms, which are still found in N, and are regular verbs of the II. class; *dvā-t, dā-t*; *phvā-t, phā-t*; *khā-t* (see § 11).—The *-t* is found only in the 1st form (*dataṃ* etc.), and in the longer base (*data-* etc.); the other forms are, as far as they are regular, formed from a III. class base.—After *ma* the 5th form is mostly *du, khu, phu*, older *do, kho, pho*. Of *kha-t* there occur special forms *kha, khe, khas, khes* (see §§ 153, 156, 209, 211).—*kha-t* and *pha-t* have alternative forms with *u* in the base (e. g. *khuto, phute, phuwo*), which seem to be new formations.—*da-t* and *pha-t* have the causatives *dayaka-l, phacaka-l.*—Other irregularities are *daṃṅāva* (C^2 141 = *dataṅāva* C^1), *dusā* (condit.) Vi 122.4; the form *dani* = *dawo* with the derivations *daniwo* = *dayiwo, danisā* = *datasā*, found only in the younger MSS, seems to be a contraction of *dawo* + the particle *ni* (cf. V^1 64^a.1 *dava nī*).

111 The shorter forms of *da-t, kha-t, pha-t*, as far as they exist.

1	*dataṃ, -ta, -to, -te*	*khataṃ, -ta, -to, -te*; *khuto, -te*	*phataṃ, -ta, -to, -te*; *phute*
3	*dayu-, dayi-*; *daniwo*		*phayu-, phayi-*
4	*daya*	*khaya*	*phaya*; *phuya*
5	*dawo*; *do, du*; *dani*	*khawo*; *kho, khu*	*phawo*; *pho, phu*; *phuwo*
6	*dayā*	*khayā*	*phayā*
7			*phakwo*
10	*dasẽṃ*		
11	*dale*		

The auxiliaries and some other verbs, like *dhu-n* "to finish", *co-n* "to sit" are used for forming periphrastic forms of the verb. See §§ 154 ff. 112

Finally it may be noted that in Vi verbal endings may be added directly to Sanskrit nouns; e. g. *thwote prakārasāṃ* 79.20 "under these circumstances", *sumaranāyāo* 84.23 "invoking". 113

Meaning and Use of the Verbal Forms.

The Causative. 114

Notably in the younger MSS the Causative may be used in a quasi-passive sense, e. g. *asaṃkhy bhikṣu-gananaṃ uyakāo* Vi 101.11 f. "being surrounded by innumerable bhikṣus", which may have developed out of a reflexive sense "suffering himself to be s."—Now and then it has the meaning of the simplex, e. g. *gālaka-l* = *gāl-* "to fan". —Note *ka-l* "to hit", of inanimate objects, *kayaka-l* id., of living beings; *pu-n* "to dress oneself", *punaka-l* "to dress others".

The negative particle *ma* before a causative usually denotes a negation of the simplex, e. g. *thva kanyā ma kāyakalaṃ* V^1 87^b.4 "he caused the girl not to be taken"; *ma khanaka-l* means "to make invisible", lit. "to cause not to be seen".

On the construction of the causative see § 25.

The Inflectional Forms.

A 1 is a finite verb, A 2 and C 1—3 are imperatives, 115
A 3—7 are used predicatively as finite verbal forms, attributively and substantively as relative participles or relative clause-equivalents, and as verbal nouns; the rest (including some of the cases of A 4—6 (cf. § 101) are used

as infinitives of purpose, adverbial and conjunctional participles, and as subordinate clause-equivalents.

116 All verbal forms are constructed verbally, i. e. with a subject or agent, and an object.—The personal pronouns, when used as subject or object, may be omitted, when they can be inferred from the context; notably this is the case with the 1st person before the 1st form in *-o* and the 6th form.

A. Forms from the short base.

117 1 is used only as a finite verb, and denotes a completed action.

a. it is the usual narrative form. *rākṣas tam cāyāva vayāva mahā yuddh yātaṃ. rithya thva rājān taman tālapatr khaḍgan pārāva mocakaraṃ* B 37.12 ff. "the ogre became angry, came up, and began a mortal strife. Then the king in his rage smote him with his sword, and killed him".

b. it denotes a future action, about the accomplishment of which there can be no doubt. *āvalaṃ li ji vaya* (Ed. erroneously *vayā*) *ma khuto. ma vala* B 105.15 f. "henceforth it does not befit me to come, I shall not come!"

118 As to the use of the different endings the following may be said. *-aṃ* is the usual form at the end of a sentence; it is but rarely found after the 1st and 2nd persons; *-o* which on the whole is infrequently found, mostly occurs after the 1st and 2nd persons in the older MSS, in the younger MSS its use with the 3rd person becomes more frequent; *-a* is used for both forms, especially at the end of the oratio recta before *dhakaṃ* (see § 212), and in relative clauses (§ 207); occasionally also before *hanaṃ* "further", *thwonaṃ-li* "after that", and similar words.—

-ā is rarely found, and is perhaps an error. In V[1] it is an orthographical variant for *-a*, *-aṃ*.

Note. After the 1st and 2nd persons A 6 mostly takes the place of 1. See § 126 d β.

2 is the usual form of the imperative.—It may take **119**
a subject, e. g. *chen. jeke prahār yāva* Bh 81ª.6 "you beat me".

3 denotes either a customary or habitual action, or **120**
a future action.—The form in *-no, -na* is only found predicatively, as it seems, always as a future. The short form, and the form in *-wo* may be used in all instances, the short form by preference before *-hma, -gu* and with particles (*lā, thẽṃ,* cf. §§ 197,4. 208). The short form of the I. and V. classes is rarely found.

The use of these forms may be illustrated by the fol- **121**
lowing examples.

a. as a finite verb.

α (a habitative). *bārak ju-tore. babun siṣarapīva. yaubanas puruṣan siṣarapiva* H[1] 62ᵇ.1 f. "as long as (she) is a child, her father controls her, in her youth the husband controls her". *sadānaṃ jiva nāpa rātrīs con va'īva* B 130.29 "he always comes, to pass the night with me".—Also of the past: *thva dhunakāva. sakhi juyāva coniva* V[2] 57ª.6 "having finished this, they lived as friends (for a long time)".

β (a future). *prasann ma julāsa. ji puruṣ rājāva nāpaṃ siyu* B 115.24 "unless (you) have mercy, my husband will die together with the king". *thanī prabhāt jus-tunaṃ. rājā moyuvano* V[1] 43ᵇ.4 f. (= . . . *moyuno* V[2] 28ᵇ.2) "to-day, as soon as the day dawns, the king will die".

b. as a relative participle.

α (adjectivally). *laṃkha kāl oyīo thās* Ś 148ᵇ.6 "at a place where they used to come and draw water".—*abasyaṃ*

juyu-guri padārth H^1 6^a.1 "a thing that will necessarily happen".

β (substantivally). *nayu* "an (habitual) eater". *dah kāyu-pani* N 40^a.2 "the prospective heirs".

γ (with verbs, meaning "to see, to hear, to know" and the like). *rājā moyuva seva-hma* V^1 44^a.1 "one who knows, that the king is going to die".

c. as a verbal noun. *apamān lāyu. ajñānayā phal* H^2 55^a.7 "(constantly) to suffer humiliation, is the fruit of ignorance". *śrāp biyū-gūyā bhayan* M 28^b.1 "for fear that a curse might be pronounced".

122 4 denotes an action, which ought to be done, might be done, or is intended to be done. It is used

a. predicatively.

α with the 1st person as subject it denotes the intention of a future action (a "subjective future"). *āva thva rājā kisi-rūpan jin mocake* B 110.23 "I will kill the king in the shape of an elephant".—In questions: *gana vane* H^1 54^b.1 "where shall I go?"

β with the 2nd and 3rd person it may have the same meaning, *cha vane lā. coṅe lā* B 120.28 "will you go, or will you stay?" But mostly it has the meaning of an optative. *thva mantrayā siddhi seya* V^1 92^b.5 "(you) may know the power of this spell". *thvatetā seva-hmaṃ paṇḍit dhāya* H^2 54^a.2 f. "one who knows all this, may be called a paṇḍit".—*thathiṃ-hma putr jāyarape chāy* H^2 49^b.6 "why should such a son be born?"

b. as a relative participle.

α (adjectivally). *ṅyāye miye padārth* N 23^b.6 "objects, which are to be bought and sold" (i. e. "merchandise"). *chan haya-guli belā* Vi 122.32 "the time when you have to bring". *ji-panis duḥkh sukh hlāya thās ma du* B 52.7 f. "we have nowhere we can speak of our misfortunes and successes". *śuci yāya-gu upakār* P 58^b.4 "a means by which to purify".

β (substantivally). *dūt yāya-paniṃ. apār dava* H^2 79^a.4 "there are a great many who are to be made messengers". *thva byūl vanya-hma. li-hāṃ vaya ma du* B 36.22 f. "he, who has to go as a victim (?), cannot come back".

c. as a verbal noun, with the meaning of an Infinitive.

α (with verbs and adjectives). *ji hṅeḍ dayakya ma chālā* B 114.28 "I dared not go to sleep". *je mocake kārj yātaṃ* V^1 18^a.5 "(she) made preparations to kill me". *sīk-hma ... mvāke sayā* B 129.25 "I know how to revive a dead person". *o pujarapya jogy jurasā* H^1 38^a.2 "if he is worthy of being worshipped". (More examples sub "auxiliaries" §§ 155 ff.).

β (as a subject). *krodhi juya ... mitrayā dokh* H^1 53^a.2 "to be irascible is injurious to friendship".

γ (as an infinitive of purpose). *je mām bicār yāya. thava deśas vane* V^2 20^a.6 "I will go to my country, to take care of my mother".

δ (with *nuyo* "let us", and *yāṅa(ṃ)* "in order to"). *jhejesen bidyā abhyās yāt one nuyo* V^2 64^b.1 "let us go to acquire wisdom". *bhatin. pakṣi-cāto. naya-yāṅaṃ. thva thāyas vanaṃ* H^1 36^b.2 "the cat went to this place, in order to devour the young of the birds".

Note. In *rānīnaṃ kāya-yā hiva* B 22.12 "bring it, that the queen may take it", *-yā* is most likely a shortened form of *yāṅa*.

Of the cases of this form the following may be said. **123**

a. Genitive. Used only when dependent on nouns. *thvatetā rājy moyayā lakṣaṇ* H^2 60^b.1 "these are the signs

that a kingdom will perish". *mocā buyayā. bedanā* Vd 26a.4 "the pain of childbearing".

b. Dative. Used with the meaning "for the purpose of". *cha-pani syāyayāta caṇḍāl bonakal chotaṃ* B 122.25 "he sent for the Caṇḍālas to have you put to death" (lit. "for the purpose of putting you to d."). *thwo jubarājā ghāt ma yātakeyāta. jin chu jatn yāya mār* Vi 55.14 "what efforts must I make, that this prince may not be killed".

c. Instrumental. An infinitive of purpose. *saty pratipālan yāyan vale* V^1 70^b.1 "when she goes in order to keep her oath". Rarely found.

d. Locative. Used with the general meaning "in doing".

α (dependent on verbs). It is used with verbs like *ras yāya* "to take delight in", *udyam yāya* "to exert oneself", *taya* "to appoint to" and the like; also with adjectives like *tayār* "ready for", *tatpar* "intent upon".—Ex. *thvava kāryyas sunānaṃ udyam ma yāk* H^2 49^b.6 "who does not exert himself in his own affairs".

β (alone). *dhan sahās yāyas-aṃ rāj tol-te māl* C^2 9 "in collecting riches ... one must put aside all shame". Mostly it means "in the case of doing, when about to do".

e. Sociative. "As soon as ...". *thva dhāleyā pu vāyavaṃ buyāva si sava* B 85.19 f. "as soon as you drop the seed of this date, it will germinate and bear fruit". *ji khaneo bisẽ onio* Vi 155.9 "they will flee, at the more sight of see". —Found only in the younger MSS.

Note. *āhār yāyao . maithun yāyao . nidrāo* Vi 34.27 f means "eating, copulation, and sleep".

f. Directive. Not essentially different from the dative. *manuṣy-thiṃ syāyata. bicār mu mvāl lā* B 112.28 "is an investigation unnecessary for the killing of a human being?" *siyata su vaniva* ib. 36. 27 f. "who will go to die?" *mebayā*

ann nayata . . . chi-skar-pani jāṃ. bhikṣuṃ ma khu Vi 22.33 ff. "you are not a bhikṣu, that you may eat the food of others".

Note to 4. In a few cases there seems to be an ending *aṃ* for 4 + *ṃ*, e. g. *misāyā caritr svayakaṃ khava . bicār yāyaṃ khava* B 114.3 "the right thing to do, is to watch the doings of women, to examine them", where *svayakaṃ* must stand for *svayakẽ-ṃ*.

5 denotes an incompleted action, an action in pro- 124
gress. It is used

a. as a relative participle.

α (attributively). *lā-hāthas coṅ kaṃkan* H^1 16^b.2 "the bracelet which was in his hand". *asaty kha hlāk misā* B 50.11 "a woman who tells lies". *meba sunānaṃ ma twoṅ-gu laṃkha* Vi 35.3 f. "water, others do not drink". *nava kvathā* B 101.29 "a room where one eats". *rājā li-hā bi-jyāk-guli bārtā* Vi 39.7 f. "the rumour that the king was coming back". *śastran prahār yāk-gū bedanā* M 34^b.6 "the pain of being hit by a sword".

β (substantivally). *hetiyā bacan ma ṅeṅ-hma* H^1 46^b.2 "one that does not listen to the words of a friend". *sik-hmayā māṃs* M 11^b.8 "the flesh of a dead one". *meb āyatasaṃ coṅ-hmaṃ mvāk dhāya ma khu* H^2 51^b.1 "whoever is dependent on others, cannot be called living". *saty ma dhāo-panisen jakaṃ. thathiṃṅ bṛtti yāyuo* Vi 35.26 "only liars speak in this way".

γ (nomen actoris). *thwol* "an owner", *jyā-po* "an agricultural labourer". Esp. frequent in N: *ṅyāk* "a buyer", *miwo* "a seller", *bhuktarapu* "an enjoyer".

b. with verbs like "to see, to hear, to think", and the like. *thva bova khaṅāva* H^1 24^a.3 "on seeing them fly". *thava garbhas jāyalapu bhālapāva* B 124.31 "thinking that he is born from your womb".— *-guli* may be added: *jin*

jāṃ svāmin doh yāk-guli chuṃ ma khaṅā Vi 43.5 f. "I do not see, that my husband has committed any crime".

c. as a verbal noun (nomen actionis of an action in progress). *strī puruṣ ne-hmaṃ mokayā pāp* V^1 33^a.3 "the sin of husband and wife being dead". *dhup thaṅāo haku-gun* Vi 19.4 "through the burning of incense".—*syāk* "pain" (from *syā-t* "to hurt").

Note. Properly speaking, we have in these examples an inflection of a whole sentence.

d. predicatively, mostly with the 3rd person as subject. It denotes

α. the present. *chatāṃ ma khaṅ* (MS *chataṃ*) H^1 4^b.2 "he does not see anything". *basarapaṃ coṅ* "he lives" (very frequent).—Rarely with the 1st and 2nd persons. *je ... thana naya ma yava* V^2 47^a.4 "I do not wish to eat here". *chan sio* "you know" Vi 44.26.

β. the past; by preference in sentences which are closely connected with the following. *Bikramādit rājā bālakhas babunaṃ vāṅaṃ tāthu. thana mantrīnaṃ la hisyaṃ tava* B 109.30 f. "the father abandoned (or "had abandoned") the king Vikramāditya, when a boy; and then the minister brought him up". *jeva biśvās yāk pakṣi-panisyaṃ je hṅa-vane. che praśaṃśā hlāk. thvaten ...* H^1 38^b.4 "the birds who rely upon me, praised you before me; and therefore ..."

Note. In instances like *āva je hastas rāk-hma* Bh 9^a. 4 "now you have come into my hands", we have really a relative participle, used predicatively: "(you) are one that ..."

125 The following cases of this form are used as subordinate clause-equivalents.

a. Genitive (rarely). *jā naraṅāva. saril ma chiṅayā. chinake* Vd 43^b.4 "if the body does not become strong, when one eats food, it is to be strengthened".

b. Instrumental. Connoting "by doing", or "because" (causal clause, cf. § 127 a). *bhutan hnās bān ṅāvan kālaṃ* V^2 24^a.6 "the ghost took the nose, by biting it with his teeth". *Keśī daity mocakun. Keśab dhakaṃ. Kṛṣṇayā nām chuṅā* Bh 62^b.6 "they gave to Kṛṣṇa the name of Keśava, because he killed the daitya Keśin".—With the particle *-aṃ* added, it takes the meaning "in spite of, even though". *thathe yākanaṃ. Dhanadattatu bhālapāva conaṃ* V^1 32^b.4 "even though he had acted in this way, she kept on thinking of Dhanadatta".

Note to 5. The fuller form of V in *-awo* (see § 100,5) seems to be used only predicatively.

6 generally denotes a completed action. It is used 126

a. as a relative participle (mostly to be translated by the passive, see Introd.).

α (attributively). *bhinakaṃ sāsarapaṃ tayā strī* H^1 20^a.4 "a well trained wife". *kanyā sīse tayā-hma rājā* V^2 52^a.5 "the king the girl had been entrusted to". *mṛtak cisyaṃ tayā khipot* V^2 4^b.5 "the rope the corpse had been fettered with". *thva hnās dhyaṅā-hma na'unīyā* B 97.21 "of the barber's wife, whose nose had been cut off". *yajñ yānā-gu puṇy* M 5^b.8 "the merit of having made a sacrifice".—Rarely with an agent. *janan parapā ślok* H^2 61^b.6 "a verse recited by a person".—This form seems to be preferred to the 5th form, when the 1st or 2nd person is the subject. *ji-pani vayā kāry* M 31^a.1 "the business we came for". *ji phale dyeṅaṃ conyā belas* B 26.17 "at the time when I was sleeping in the courtyard".

β (substantivally). *syānā-hmayā rā. hi* M 11^b.8 "the flesh of one who has been killed". *kul śīr byabahār ma seyā-hma* H^1 35^b.3 "one whose family, character, and conduct are unknown".

b. With verbs like "to see, to hear, to perceive" etc. *coke hora tayā khaṅāva* H^{1} 13^{b}.5 "seeing that rice had been strewn". *thathe barakhunin dhāyā ṅeṅāva* H^{1} 20^{b}.1 "having heard the pigeon speak thus".

c. as a verbal noun (nomen actionis of a completed action). Frequently in N: *dāyā* "the beating, the having beaten"; *syanakā* "the destroying, the having destroyed". —In other MSS only found in the genitive. *Citragrībayā. pās. Hiraṇyakan. pheṅāyā khaṃ* H^{1} 57^{b}.1 "the story of the rending of Citragrīva's snare by Hiraṇyaka (or "... how Hir. rent...")*. kumāl hṅerāyā arth* V^{2} 63^{b}.2 "the meaning of the laughing of the boy".

d. predicatively. It denotes

α. a present with the 1st or 2nd person as subject (corresponding to the 3rd person with 5). *jen seyā* "I know", *je vayā* "I come". *bho mantri-ju. chu ujan dayakā* B 85.25 f. "o honorable minister, what order do you give?"

β. with the same persons a past (corresponding to the 3rd person with 1 or 5). *rājā hṅila. ji hṅilā* B 139.8 f. "the king laughed; (and) I laughed". *che āśray. svarggava ture* (= *tulya*). *jen rāṅā* H^{1} 70^{b}.2 "I have obtained your protection, which is like heaven". *rājāyāke khul oṅā. thva belas rātaṃ* V^{2} 59^{a}.3 "(I) went to steal from the king; and then they caught (me)".

γ. in some MSS (esp. H^{2}, Bh, B) this form is used with the 3rd person instead of the 1st form; especially before oratio recta. *thana māhānanaṃ ināla pā. bho mahārājā...* B 26.8 f. "then the official said: Oh great king...".

Note. Instances like *babunaṃ tyājalapaṃ tayā-hma ji* B 29.24 f. must be understood in the same way as those mentioned in § 124 note: "I am one that has been disowned by her father".

The following cases are used as subordinate clause- **127**
equivalents.

a. Instrumental. The literal meaning is "by, through making...". *thva-pani syāṅān doṣan ma lāk* N 43^{a}.5 "one does not become guilty by killing these".—It is the usual form of expressing a causal clause. *jeke chal-pol bi-jyāṅān. je dhaṃny* Bh 40^{a}.6 "I am happy, because you have come to me". *bidyā seva dhakaṃ. ṅeṅān. je thana vayā* H^{1} 38^{b}.5 "I come hither, because I had heard that you knew the arts".—With *-aṃ* it means "in spite of, even though". *thava ches coṅānaṃ. samudran bigrah yāyu rā* H^{2} 69^{a}.6 "is the ocean going to wage war, even if I stay in my house?" The literal meaning in *kebal paśu cha-hma syāṅānaṃ* Vi 38.7 f. "even by killing merely one animal".

Note. In a few cases a later form in *-āṃ* is found, e. g. *hlāyāṃ* H^{2} 56^{b}.7 "though he said".

b. Sociative. This is the most frequently found conjunctive participle, and it is used

α. as a conjunctive participle of the past. *śaḍa gayāva vanaṃ* B 23.26 "after mounting his horse, he rode off" (or "he mounted..., and..."). *thva kanyā vaṃṅāva. oyā bilahan pīdalapāva... rājaputran mitrayāke dhālaṃ* V^{1} 10^{b}.2 "after this girl was gone, the prince, being tortured by longing for her, said to his friend...". *rājān khaḍgan pārāva mocakaraṃ* B 37.14 "the king smote him with his sword, and killed him".

β. as an adverbial participle, not differing in meaning from 9 and 10. *baniyā khvayāva vanaṃ* B 16.27 "the merchant went away weeping".

γ. with interrogative adverbs; *thathe ṣu vasenaṃ. ṣaṅāva chu* H^{2} 52^{b}.5 f. "though a thief thus comes, why look?"—

and with *prayojan. je mvāṅāva. prayojan ma dato* V² 22ᵇ.4 (= *mvāṅāyā* V¹ 34ᵇ.5) "it is of no use that I am alive".

Note. In a few instances this form is found with the meaning of a relative participle, e. g. *dayakāo-guli* "being built" (Vi 88.20).—In cases like *brahm syāṅāva uti* P. 52ᵇ. 6 "like killing a brahman", the sociative is dependent on *uti*.

On the 6th form as a conjunctive participle see § 130 note.

128 7 is used in much the same way as 6, less frequently as 5. It is rarely found. It may be

a. a relative participle. *toyu berān khako hmas* V² 45ᵇ.7 "on the body which was hit by the rays of the moon". *biko joṅāo vanaṃ* ib. 47ᵃ.7 "he took what was given, and went off". *abhyās yākva* C² 57 "one who studies" (= ∾ *yāk* C¹ 56). "dead" is in a few cases *sikwo* besides the usual *sik*.

b. a verbal noun. *karmm yāko nisphal* P 18ᵃ.1 "performing the rite is fruitless".

c. very rarely it is used predicatively, e. g. *jambuk sikva* H¹ 74ᵇ.3 "the gazelle died".

129 8 is an Infinitive of purpose, used mostly in connection with verbs of motion. *jinaṃ kāl vane* B 34.30 "I will go to obtain it". *rājānaṃ thava maṃtri koṭabār mahārāni bonakal choyāva samadhār yātaṃ* B 27.23 ff. "the king, having sent (someone) to make him fetch the minister, the kotwal, and the chief queen, took counsel with them".

130 9 is an adverbial participle, conveying the idea of a close connection between two verbal notions. *līva līva. bvāṅaṃ vaṅāva* H¹ 24ᵃ.3 "following him running". *je pās. boyakaṃ yaṅā* H¹ 24ᵃ.4 f. "they flew away with my snare" (lit. "carried away, making it fly").—In rare instances it is found with the meaning of a conjunctive participle

(mostly that of the V. class). *thathe bhārapaṃ. paṃkṣi-pani merarapaṃ. gṛdh syātaṃ* H¹ 42ᵇ.2 "thinking so, the birds gathered and killed the vulture".

It is used in connection with *prasann juya. thva-panī ne-hmaṃ mvācakaṃ praśarnn juya māl* V¹ 58ᵃ.2 "will you be so kind as to revive these two".

Note. The 6th form may be used in the same way, though rarely. *rānī tam cāyā dhālaṃ* B 72.9 "the queen said angrily".

The 9th form of the causative is used as a kind of modalis of the simplex: "so that..., in a way as to..." *hī lūyakaṃ dāyā* N 42ᵇ.6 "beating in such a way that blood flows" (lit. "... making bl. fl."). *khayakaṃ* "openly", from *kha-l* "to shine".—Frequently with *ma*: *ma seyakaṃ* "without his knowledge" (lit. "making him not know it"); *sunānaṃ ma khanakaṃ* "without anyone seeing it"; *ma dayakaṃ* means "without".—E. g. *ma seyakaṃ misake bitt kāya* N 41ᵇ.4 "to take the property from a man w. h. kn.". 131

10 does not differ in meaning from 9. *besya oṇaṃ* V² 132
49ᵃ.3 "he flew away". *tam cāsyaṃ dhāra* H¹ 42ᵇ.5 "he said angrily".—*thvate sesyaṃ. matimān paṇḍitan thava svasthān tor-te ma teva* ib. 75ᵇ.5 f. "a wise paṇḍit must not leave his abode when he knows this".—With *ma*: *ma ṅesyaṃ vanaṃ* V¹ 76ᵃ.5 "he went away without hearing it". *laṃkha ma tosyaṃ* H² 51ᵃ.3 "without drinking water".—The form in *-naṃ* is a concessive, *khaṃsĕnaṃ* "though he sees".

11 is a conjunctive participle, "as, when". *mṛg* 133
cha-hma rāṅāva ... vare. tava-dhik phā cha-hma khanaṃ H¹ 72ᵇ.5 "as he went along, having caught a gazelle, he beheld a big boar". *li-hā varen. brāhman cha-hma nāpa rātaṃ* V² 33ᵇ.4 "as he returned, he came upon a br".

134 12 is a conjunctive participle with the meaning "while, as long as". *mvā-mvā* C[1] 284 "as long as he is alive" (= *mvā-mvāṃ* C[2]). *thathye co-coṃ* M 35[a].8 "under these circumstances".

B. Forms from the longer base.

135 1 is a Conditional. *cha yarasā. jen chu opāyanaṃ yanye* V[2] 74[b].7 "if you wish it, I will carry (you) away in some way or another". *jen bhasm rakṣā ma yātasā. chan gathe mvācake* V[2] 17[b].3 "unless I had guarded her ashes, how would you have revived her?" (Irrealis).—*lā* may be added after pronouns and pronominal adverbs, e. g. *āva lā kālasā. thva jukva nāyo* B 77.20 "if you take it now, accept only this".

136 2 is a Concessive. *brāhmanan liva liva. sā khusyaṃ jvaṅa harasanvaṃ. dān kāsyaṃ hara dhāyuva* H[1] 17[a].2 "a brahman, even though he takes a cow with him, stealing it, will afterwards say that he has accepted it as a gift". *tā-kār honā conasāṃ. cha hnuyā dinas bijog juya māl* M 29[b].1 "even if they live together for a long time, some day they must be separated".—*yathē* may be added: *yathe selasanaṃ* V[1] 44[a].2 "even if he knows it".

137 A double concessive is found in disjunctive clauses. *chī hṅapā lātasāṃ. ji hṅapā lātasāṃ. thva deś bāhirīs coṅ pauwās muṅāva vane* B 28.10 ff. "whether you come first, or I come first, we will meet at the watering-place outside the town".

Note. *thava prāṇ molasāṃ. tha mola* V[1] 60[b].5 "if my life is to be lost, then let it be lost".—*gana vanasanvaṃ* C[1] 45 "wherever he goes".

138 3 is a conjunctive participle meaning "when; at the time, at the moment". *nadīs lukuṃ bilaṅāsyaṃ. nagal cha-guli thenaṃ* V[1] 92[b].6 f. "when (or "the moment) he dived into the river, he came to a town". *si-ghāli polāva soraṅāsyaṃ. ati bhīṅ kāpar cha tvāk khanaṃ* B 20.25 f. "when he had unlocked the wooden box, and looked into it, he beheld a bundle of fine cloth".

4 means "when; as, since; if (only)". *sakale syātanās. piṇḍ thava ma dayu* B 136.4 "when they kill all (of us), nobody will exist who can place the funeral ball". *thva bidyā datanās. jhijhīs chuyā bhay* ib. 129.26 "since we have this knowledge, of what are we in danger?" *dhanabant julaṅās. samast lokanaṃ māny yāyuva* H[2] 49[a].7 f. "if only he is wealthy, all people will honour him". 139

5 has much the same meaning as 4. *thva dhu mvātaṅāva. jhijhī bāyuva julo* B 130.5 "when the tiger comes alive, we shall have to separate". *je molaṅāva. che the-tu conīva thukā* V[1] 18[a].6 "when (or "if only) I am dead, you will certainly stay here". 140

6 is a Causal, meaning "because". *bāpan. hmo biyaṃ samarth. tal biyaṃ samarth juraṅān. bisyaṃ takon lu daṃja māl* N 38[b].4 "one must be content with what is given by the father, because he has the right to give less, or to give more".—*misyaṃ biśvāsan sesyaṃ tā ma hlāraṅān. rājān vuṃ hnyāya teva* N 16[b].6 "if a man does not return what has been entrusted to him, then the king shall punish him for it" (lit. "for not returning ..."). 141

7. I will give a few examples of this somewhat dubious form. *mṛgava cha hṅavane nāpa rātasyaṃ. chanaṃ. kul śīr ma seva* H[1] 43[a].2 "when you first met with the gazelle, it did not know your family and character" (for *rātaṅāsyaṃ*?). *ma ṅenasē* Vi 111.25 "without hearing" (= *ma ṅesēṃ*). 142

C. Compounded Forms.

143 1, 2, and 3 are Imperatives; more polite, it would seem, than A 2. *bi-hṅān* "give!" (V^1 123^a.2 = *biya mār* V^2 73^a.3). —*di-sane* from *diya* "to please" forms deferential imperatives, e. g. *āhār dava thyaṃ yāṅaṃ disane* H^1 80^b.5 "act, please, as if food existed".

Note. *hṅān* occurs independently in *nāpa rāya hnāṃ* (modern form) "let us go" B 28.16.

144 4 is a conjunctive participle with the meaning "as long as, while". But mostly it is used with *ma* in the sense "until". *ji puruṣan . . . ji hṅel oyāo co-taren. jita tor-tāo ona* Vi 107.28 f. "my husband left me, while I was asleep". *o li-hā ma va-tolen. chal-polasake. sīse taya* V^1 80^b.4 "I will entrust her (to you), until (her husband) comes back".

145 5 means "as soon as, immediately after". *bālak jāt juvas-tunuṃ. kumār kumār dhaka dhāraṃ* M 4^a.5 "as soon as the child was born, they said: a boy, a boy!"

146 6 means "when, if". *bastu misyaṃ haṃṅāva. mul birañās. ma kā-kāle. ma kāvas doṣaṇ tu juroṃ* N 24^a.6 "when an object is sold, and the price is not accepted, when it is given, the damage is his that has not accepted".

147 7 means "while, as long as". *māṃ dvā-vala* N 38^a.9 "as long as the mother is alive" (lit. "exists").—See also § 197,2.

148 8. Examples of intensives: *hotu holĕ* "to strew about in all directions", *ketu kelĕ* "to grind vehemently". *sātu sālaṅāsyaṃ* B 29.15 "however hard they pulled at her".

149 About the forms, mentioned in § 104, the following may be said: Forms like *yāta-gwo* are found only with the

1st person as subject, with the meaning of the 1st form in *-o*. *thvayāke naya ma yala-go* V^1 26^a.5 "I do not want to eat in his house". *āva nī beśyā bṛrtti tol-tala-go* ib. 121^a.4 f. "now I shall give up the life of a courtesan".—The form in *-ayo* is synonymous with the 1st form. *je hnās dhenayo* H^2 63^b.3 "he has cut off my nose". *vaya dhunayo* B 28.28 "(I) have come".—*coṃ-gwo* is used attributively and predicatively like *coṅ*.

Examples of the root as a verbal form. *phā* B 30.20 "he cut off" (= *phālaṃ*), *co* V^1 36^b.3 "stay!" (= *coṅo*), *ji ju* Vi 36.15 "I am" (= *juyā*), *co-hma* C^1 290 "staying" (= *coṅ-hma*), *ma sī nayāva* V^1 76^a.3 "eating without knowing" (= *sisēṃ*). 150

Note. Some of these forms may be errors.

Finally we may mention some forms from N with the particle *vuṃ*. *cānas khuṃn khusyaṃ yaṅāyā vuṃ* 22^b.1 "if a thief carries away something, stealing it during the night". *coṃko vuṃ* 42^a.1 "if he lives". *saṃbandh yā-kāle vuṃ* 31^a.1 "though he has intercourse . . .". 151

On verbal forms with postpositions see § 197—199.

The Auxiliaries and the Periphrastic Forms of the Verb.

About the Use of the Auxiliaries the following may be noted. 152

The verbs *daya, khaya, phaya, teya, juya* frequently use the 1st form with the meaning of a present, especially after *ma*. *je julo* may mean "I am, I become"; *ma phato* "I cannot" B 79.4, but 80.18 *ma phayā* id.—The form in *-o* of the said verbs is frequently found with the 3rd person.—The form in *-e* (§ 110 a) is found only after *ma*, by preference with the 1st or 2nd person as subject; e. g. *chī*

thana diya ma tele B 90.25 "you must not stay here". *jule* is rarely found.—The commonest negative forms of *daya, khaya, phaya* are the short form *du, khu, phu* with *ma*; likewise *te, tewo* from *teya*.—The other forms have the usual meaning.

With other verbs the auxiliaries are mostly constructed with the 4th form; for further details see below.—*daya* with the genitive means "to have", see § 26 g.

153 As a copula are used forms of *khaya* (*khava, khato, kha, khe*). But mostly the copula is not expressed; when in such cases a pronoun is the subject, it is frequently placed at the end of the sentence (for an example see § 126 d γ note); sometimes the adverbs *thukā* has the force of a copula, e. g. *āmo chan puruṣ ji kijā thukā* B 122.2 "this husband of yours is my brother".—When "is" means "exists", it is expressed by forms from *daya*, which are rarely omitted.

154 By combining the auxiliaries, and certain other verbs, with various forms of a verb many shades of meaning, both modal and temporal, are expressed; I shall call such combinations periphrastic forms.—Note that the periphrastic forms of transitive verbs are treated as transitive, those of intransitive verbs as intransitive, no matter whether the auxiliary verb itself is transitive or intransitive.

155 The principal Periphrastic Forms are formed by means of *daya* "to be, to exist" with the 4th or 6th form.

a. with the 4th form it means "to be possible". *thathiṃgva māny kāya gana dayiva* H^2 52^a.1 "where will it be possible to obtain such honour?"—*cha-pani jin khane dayakaṃ ola* Vi 36.4 "you came into the range of my vision" (lit. "(you) came making it possible for me to see you").

b. with the 6th form it expresses the result of an action. *āmo sijal-patis cosyaṃ tayā du* B 82.9 "it is noted down on this copper-plate" (lit. "it exists as noted down . . ."). *thva mocā jinaṃ syāñā datasā* ib. 44.17 "if I have killed this boy".

khaya "to be" expresses "certainly, really". *syāta khava* B 135.24 "he has certainly killed him". *je prān lenake khatasā. thva caul jetaṃ biya māl* V^1 131^b.4 "if my life really is to be spared, (you) must give me this robber".—The short forms *kha, khe* etc. are found after most predicative forms of the verb as affirmative particles. See also § 209. 211. 156

juya "to be, to become" may be constructed with various forms of a verb. 157

a. with the 3rd form. *je abasyanaṃ syāyiva julo* B 135.31 "it has come to this, that he certainly will kill me". *thu ku-hnu nisyaṃ hnithanaṃ vaniva julo* ib. 56.18 f. "from this day (it came to this, that) he went there every day".

b. with the 4th form. *mitr seya juraṃ āpadās* H^1 45^a.4 "in times of distress you will come to know your friends".—In conditional clauses. *jeta ihipā yāñāo biya jurasā. meba jāṃ ma yao* Ś 160^a.7 "if someone is to be given me in marriage, I don't want anybody else". *jin j-sāṃ. cha-panita hiṃsā yāya jurasā. cha-pani dakwoṃ . . . kṣaṇamātranaṃ. bhakṣ yāyaṃ phayā* Vi 118.12 ff. "if it were so that I would hurt you, I could (lit. can) eat all of you in a moment".

c. the 5th form with the 1st form of *juya* has the meaning of a 1st form. *syāk julo* = *syātaṃ* "he killed". This expression becomes more frequent in the younger MSS.

d. the 6th form with *julasā(ṃ)* may be used in N with the meaning of a simple conditional or concessive.

e. with the 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th form, and the conjunctive participle in *-āwo* (§ 127 b) *juya* forms a kind of inchoative. *lok samastaṃ ken julaṃ* V^1 119^b.5 "he began telling it to everyone". *ghaṇṭh mārak cha-hmasen kāyāva. thānāva julaṃ* H^3 30^b.3 "a monkey took the bell, and started to ring it".

158 *teya* "to be proper" has the meaning "must, shall" with the 4th form. With *ma* (usually in the form *te, tewo,* rarely *telo, tele*) it forms negative imperatives. *thva kāya teva* N 17^a.5 "this must be accepted". *thava rājy vane tela* H^3 62^a.10 "(you) shall go to your country". *Subarṇṇareṣā jen thiya ma teva* H^2 61^b.5 "I must not touch Suvarṇarekhā". —*bās biya ma te* "don't give shelter". *āon li nāg mocake ma teo* V^2 79^a.7 "don't kill the Nāgas from now on".

159 *mālë* (younger also *mvālë*) "to be necessary" has the meaning "must, shall, may" (optative) with the 4th form. The negative 5th form (mostly *mu māl,* rarely *ma* ∾) forms a polite negative imperative. *sadākāraṃ saṃcay yāya mār* H^1 72^a.3 "you may always collect (riches)". *chan chāy. cet ma pacula dhakaṃ kane mār* V^2 50^a.7 f. "would you tell (me) why you are alarmed".— *lās cāya mu māl* V^1 33^a.4 "don't lose courage!"

160 *tenë, tanë* with the 4th form has the meaning "to be about to . . .". *mr̥tak jone tenaṅāsyaṃ mr̥tak thā-hā vana* V^2 4^b.4 "when he was about to grasp the corpse, it rose higher".—Also "will". *chal-por gana biya teṅā* Vi 37.27 "whither will you fly?"

161 *taya* "to do" is used with the 9th or 10th form, less frequently the conj. part. in *-āwo,* mostly, it would seem, without any change of meaning. *hmāca. ādaran. rakṣā yāṅa tala* V^2 21^a.4 f. "he protected the girl with reverence" (= *hmyāca ādalan. rakṣā yātaṃ* V^1 32^b.3). *jin āma-li bay biyāva taya ma phayā* H^3 47^a.6 "I cannot give such an amount".—Sometimes it seems to emphasize that an action is completed. *cesyaṃ tayā kāpare* H^1 95^a.2 "the tortoise, which had been fettered". *Nabaratn dh-ṃ rājān nām chu-ṅaṃ talaṃ* B 140.14 f. "the king had given him the name of Navaratna".

dhunë "to finish" forms a perfect. *mām vaya dhuno* 162
B 48.22 "mother has come". *samudr pār yāya dhunaṅāva. nām chu prayojan* C^2 43 "when the ocean has been crossed, what is the use of a ship". *āma kha jin siya dhuna* V^2 30^a.5 "this tale I have learnt".

Note. The form *dhunakāwo* is used with the meaning of the simplex, always without a subject.

conë "to stay, to sit" with the 9th or 10th form, less 163
frequently the conj. part. in *-āwo* has the meaning

a. of a durative. *basarapaṃ coṅ* "he lives there (always)". *thva samastaṃ br̥ttāntaṃ sosyaṃ coṅ. Laghupatanak* H^1 32^a.4 "L., who was watching these events".

b. of a descriptive perfect. *jhījīs gaḍh tayāo conaṃ* H^2 84^a.1 "our fortress is built". *khātā talas surāva conaṃ* ib. 80^b.7 "he was hidden under the bed".

biya "to give" and *tā-thë* "to leave", constructed like 164
conë, indicates that an action is done for or against a person. *deneyātaṃ. cha kothās. lāsā lāyāvo bilaṃ* V^1 130^b.3 f. "he prepared in a room a bed for him to sleep upon".—*ma orasā. sāsti yāṅāo tāthya* Ś 149^a.1 "unless you come, I will punish you".

haya "to bring", and *yanë* "to lead away" may denote, 165
a motion towards, or away from the subject. *he strī thanā vā*

dhakaṃ. sal-taṃ halaṃ V[1] 95[a].6 "he called her to him with the words: come here".—"To steal" is frequently *khusẽṃ yanẽ.*

With the 12th form *yanẽ* denotes that an action is done repeatedly: *to-to yanẽ* "to drink repeatedly" (Vd 52[b].6).

166 *woya* "to come", and *wonẽ* "to go" may denote that an action has been done "just now". *sabaran dhāva tāsyaṃ vayā* H[1] 82[a].4 "I have just heard what the mountaineer said".

Note. Rarely found are *sanẽ* and *hanẽ*. *sanẽ* is used in the same way as *conẽ*, especially in N.—*hanẽ* seems to be used without any change of meaning, e. g. *bo dasyaṃ hanasāṃ . agni śītal ma juva* H[2] 39[a]. 2 "even though it is extinguished, the fire does not become cold". Here *datasāṃ* would mean the same.

ADJECTIVES

Form of the Adjectives.

167 The bulk of Newārī adjectives have characteristic endings, mostly identical with or related to those of the verbal forms which may be used as relative participles. Few are without an ending. Of derivative and compound adjectives only a few occur.

168 a. Adjectives with verbal endings. *bhiṅ* "good", *gaṅ* "dry"; *kvāk* "hot"; *jawo* "right", *khawo* "left"; *ẽkwo* "agreeable"; *toyu* (also *toyuwo, toyi, toyiwo*) "white".—For *bhiṅ* there are alternative forms *bhiṃ, bhiṃ-hma, bhiṃ-gwo*; for *gaṅ, gaṃ-gwo* (cf. *coṃ-gwo* § 104). "ripe" is *hneṃ-gwo*, later *hniṃ-gu.*

b. adjectives in *-u* (cf. the 5th form of the V. class of verbs). *cāku* "sweet", *jhyātu* "heavy, important", *lumu* "hot", *hmāsu* "yellow".—A frequent ending is *-ṅu*, for

which the later language has *-u(ṃ)*; cf. § 10 c. *yāṅu* : *yā'u(ṃ)* "light", *hyāṅu* : *hyā'u(ṃ)* "red", *khiṅu* : *khi'u(ṃ)* "dark". To some of these later forms *-k* may be added, e. g. *hyā'uk.*—In the older MSS there occurs a few instances of *-wo*, *-o* for *-u*, e. g. *thākwo* "difficult" in H[1] for the usual *thāku*, *jhyāto* for *jhyātu.*

c. adjectives in *-a* or *-i*. *ṅoya* "mad", *khvāca* (younger *khvāya*) "deaf", *hnula* "new", *dhusi* "hunch-backed", *bahili* "barren".

d. without an ending we find *tosan* "poor" (loan-word?).

Adjectives may be derived from verbs by means of the ending *-pu*; e. g. *hṅāyā-pu* "flat, even" from *hṅā-l* "to become alike", *nayā-pu* "wasteful" from *na-l* "to consume", *karuṇā cāyā-pu* "piteous" from *karuṇā cā-l* "to feel compassion"; *ṅālā-pu* "ashamed" is of the same kind, though the verb is lacking.—A *-k* may be added, e. g. *nayā-puk.* **169**

The only adjective derived from a noun, seems to be *celu* "briny" from *ci* "salt".

Compound adjectives are *tawo-ji* "excellent", lit. "of a grand sort"; *je-hlāk* "proud", lit. "saying I". A possessive compound (bahuvrīhi) is *tawo-khvāc-hma* "the one with large footprints".—Here may be mentioned the combinations of *tawo* "great", *ciku* "small" with *-dhaṅ, -dhik, -dhāy* of uncertain origin. *tawo-dhaṅ, ciku-dhik* etc. with the same meaning as the simple adjective. **170**

The generic particles *-hma, -gu, -guli* are rarely added to adjectives of Newārī origin; it would seem never to those in *-u* and *-i*; but they are frequently found with loan-words. After *lyāca* "young" is sometimes found *-hmo*, *-mo* for *-hma.* **171**

172 The loan-words have preserved the original difference between masculine and feminine forms, though they are not always used in the proper way (cf. B 116.28 *sundar* f. "beautiful", V[1] 11ᵃ.5 *bilahinī* m. "longing").—Only one Newārī adjective has different forms for these two genders, viz. the word for "young". The masculine form is *lyāca*, younger *lyāya*; the feminine form *lyāsē*.

Note. It seems that originally synonymous forms have been utilized for this differentiation after the analogy of the loan-word *jyāth* m., *jithi* f. "old".

173 The adjectives are usually placed before the noun, only loan-words may come after it, e. g. *kutinī jithi cha-hma-syenaṃ* B 131.18 "an old procuress".—The adjectives do not correspond with the noun, but when an adjective is placed after a noun, the case- and number-endings are added to the adjective (cf. § 36).

174 Adjectives may be used substantivally without change of form. Then they are inflected like nouns; e. g. *jithin dhālaṃ* B 131.26 "the old woman said".—The plural ending is always *-pani*.

175 Adjectives may be used as abstract nouns. *pālu* is "acid" and "acidity", *pyās-cāwo* "thirsty" and "thirst", *ṅālā-pu* "ashamed" and "shame". E. g. *pya-tyāk pyas-cāva-gulinaṃ* M 10ᵇ.5 f. "through hunger and thirst".

Verbal Forms from Adjectival Bases.

176 The bases of the adjectives in *-ṅ* and *-k* (but it would seem, not of those in *-wo*) are used as verbal bases of the I. and II. classes. Thus e. g. *bhi-n* "to be good", *ga-n* "to be dry", *kvā-t* "to be hot". Some of the forms found: *bhinē, bhinaṅās, bhi-tole*; *ganiwo, gaṅāwo*; *kvāṅāwo, kvācakē.*

Note. *tā-hāwo* "high" seems to form a causative *tā-hāyakē*, but these are only later forms for *tā-hāk* and *tā-hācakē*.

The adjectives in *-u*, including those in *-yu* may be used as verbal bases, sometimes changing the *-u* into *-a*. They take the following endings. 177

-laṃ, -lo. pācalaṃ "is composed"; *khi'uro* Ś 156ᵃ.6 "is empty".

-yu with *-a* before it. *cikayu* "becomes cold" from *ciku*; *jhyātayu* "becomes important" from *jhyātu*.—But Vd 9ᵇ.6 *bhoyuyu* "becomes grey".

-sēṃ, mostly with *-u* before it; *-ṅu* always becomes *-ṅa*, but the later forms in *-u* retain the *-u*. *ecusēṃ* "becoming clear"; *jhyātusēṃ* or *-tasēṃ* "becoming heavy"; *khiṅasēṃ* "becoming dark", but *yā'uṃsēṃ* "becoming light"; *toyusēṃ* or *toyisēṃ* "becoming white".—This form is mostly used with *wonē* or *woya* in the sense "to become"...; e. g. *borusyaṃ vanaṃ* C[1] 199 "it becomes muddy".

Note. Once we find *hyāṅaṃ* for *hyāṅasēṃ* (Vd 38ᵃ. 8).

-yāwo. lumuyāwo "becoming hot"; *kyātuyāwo* "becoming tender"; *toyiyāwo* "becoming white".—This form is used in the same way as that in *-sēṃ*. E. g. *lumuyāva valaṃ* M 4ᵃ.2 "it became hot" (cf. ib. *śītal juyāva valaṃ* "it became cool" from a loan-word).—In a few instances other forms are found: *khvāṅaṅāsēṃ* "when it became warm"; *nāyi-tole* "as long as it is soft".

Not infrequently a causative occurs. *jhyātukē* or *-takē* "to make heavy"; *hyāṅakē* or *hyāṅukē* "to make red", *nāyikē* "to make soft".—An irregular form is *hyāṅucakē* Vd 22ᵃ.6.

Note 1. Such forms are formed, too, from *sidhu* "secure", a loan-word from Sa. *siddha* with a Newārī ending, e. g.

sidhayu, sidhayakë (rarely *-ddh-*). Rarely from other loan-words: *ajīrṇṇayuvayā bhayan* H[2] 54[b]. 4 "for fear that it might not be digested".

Note 2. The modern forms in *-ʾu(ṃ)* never change *-u* to *-a.*

On the Comparison of adjectives see § 215.

ADVERBS

Adverbs from Adjectives.

178 Adverbs derived from adjectives are rarely found. As such may be used the 9th form of the causative (cf. § 131). E. g. *bhinakaṃ* "well", *jhyātukaṃ* "heavily", *tā-pācakaṃ* "far away"; also *tā-pāle* id. E. g. *bhinakaṃ śebā yāṅa tayā rājā* H[1] 20[a].4 f. "a king who has been well attended to".—The adverb *sohmakaṃ*, later *sumukaṃ* "silently" will have been formed in the same way, though a corresponding adjective is not found. Others likewise derived no doubt from obsolete adjectives are the adverbs in *-hun*, like *bulu-hun* "slowly", *musu-hun* "softly" (in ∾ *hṅelë* "to smile").

Pronominal Adverbs.

179 They are derived from the same bases as the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns; in addition the bases *i, e*; *thi, the*; *gi, ge* are found. The bases with *i, e* are mostly used alone, the others mostly with one of the suffixes *-na, -thë, -khë, -kan.*—From a few of the bases and from the adverbs in *-na* may be formed a genitive, and an instrumental with the meaning of an ablative.

180 The base alone as an adverb. *thi, the* "her, hither"; *i, e* "there, thither"; *gi, ge* "where, whither?". Rarely *tha* "then".—Cases: *thiyā* "from here" (origin), *gen* "from where?" (starting-point); *thes* "in this case; there".

With suffix *-na*. Adverbs of space and time. *thana* a. "here, hither"; b. "then, thereon". *ana* a. "there, thither"; b. "then". *gana* "where? whither?" (not used of time; *gwo belas* "at what time?" takes its place).—*anan(aṃ)* a. "from there"; b. "thereupon". *ganan(aṃ)* "from where?".—*ganata* "where to? how far?". 181

The use of the genitive may be illustrated by the following examples. *thanayā ācār* Vi 132.31 "the customs of this place". *cha su. ganayā ganan vayā* H[3] 40[a].2 f. "who are you, from where (are you), whence do you come?"

gana-naṃ, gana-ṃ "somewhere"; with *ma* "nowhere". *melë gananaṃ* "from elsewhere".

Rare forms are *inā* (V[1]), *thena, gena* = *i, the, ge.* Note *enān enā* N 12[a].3 "to and fro"; *genānoṃ* "wherever it may be" (V[1] 47[b].2 = *gana jurasana* V[2] 30[b].4).

Note. Adverbs of space and time are also expressed by means of *thāy* "place", *bel* "time". *thwo thāyas* "at this place, here". *thwo belas* "at this time; then".

With suffix *-thë(ṃ)*. Adverbs of manner. *thathë* "so, in this way"; *athë* "so, in that way"; *ămathë* rarely, = *athë*; *gathë* "how?"—*thathë-tu*; *athë-tu, athën-tu* "just in this, or that way".—*thathënaṃ, athënaṃ* "even in this way; yet, still, nevertheless". With *ma* "neither in this way".—*gathënaṃ* "in some way or other"; ∾ . . . *ma* "in no way whatever". 182

The form *-thëṃ* of the suffix is rarely found with these bases; but it is the usual form after *thwo*; *wo, u*; *thwoto, gwoto*, showing that it has here preserved its original independence as a postposition (see § 195). *va-thyaṃ yāya* H[1] 38[a].3 "it might be done like that".—*gwoto-thëṃ* is found

only in the phrase *gwoto-thēṃ dhālasā* "so it is said" = Sa. *tathā coktam*.

183 The most frequent form is *u-thēṃ* in the sense "like, alike, in the same way". *sukh duḥkh dhāyā-guli u-thēṃ thukā* Vi 163.5 "what are called luck and misfortune are alike". With the sociative *banaba*. *cheva u-thyaṃ* C[1] 168 "a wood and a house are alike".

184 To these forms may be added the verb *ṅānē* "to be alike". *Anaṃgasenāo u-thē ṅaṅ makhā* V[2] 75[b].5 "she is certainly like Anaṅgasenā". *āma-thē ṅaṅ rājā* H[2] 40[a].4 "a king like him; such a king".—*thathē ṅanakaṃ* = *thathē. thathē ṅale* "under these circumstances".

Note. Adverbs of manner may also be expressed by means of *prakār* "manner"; *thwo prakāran, thwote prakāran* "in this manner, so, thus".

185 The suffixes *-khē, -kan* are rarely found. With *-khē* only *ukhē thukhē* "hither and thither"; with *-kan* only *āmakan* "here, hither".

186 Other pronominal adverbs. *āwo* "now" (from the base *ă*, cf. *ămo*. *awo* is found in a few instances), *āwo-tole, āwonaṃ hṅā* "till now", *āwonaṃ li* "from now, henceforth"; *thwonaṃ li, lithēṃ*, rarely *liwo, lis* "after this, thereupon"; *thanaṃ li, wonaṃ li, thathinaṃ li*, and the irregular instrumental of *thwo*: *thwoyān* or *thwoyān li(wo)* id.—*thwoten* "therefore".—*thwolas* "in this way", *wolas* "in this case"; *thalaṃ li, wolaṃ li* "after this"; *wola-hnaṃ* "at this time", *gwola-hnaṃ* "at what time?" (both in N only); *gwolanaṃ* "at any time, always", ∾ . . . *ma* "never".

thama-thē-thamanaṃ; *thama-thēṃ*; rarely *thawo-thē-thamanaṃ* "of one's own accord".

itā "to the other side (of a river)", *itās* "on the other side", *thitā* "on or to this side"; *itā thitā* "on both sides".

"so" before adjectives is expressed by means of the qualitative demonstratives (§ 60). *thathiṃ daridr* B 21.21 "so poor". *thathī-gva sundali* V[2] 46[b].7 "so beautiful" = *thathiṃṅ sundarī* V[1] 75[a].2.—Note *thathiṃ-gwo* (not *-hma*); the literal meaning is "beautiful like that".

i and *thi* are combined with verbal bases in the following way: *i-hā thi-hā joyu* N 12[a].3 "he will go up and down" or "to and fro". *yi-sār thi-sār yāṅāva* Bh 133[b].3 "dragging to and fro" (*sāl-* "to drag, to pull"). *thethe ann ādin. yi-bi thi-bi yāṅaṃn* H[1] 54[a].1 "giving food and other things to each other" = *ann thithiṃ i-bil thi-bil yānāva* H[3] 12[b].4 (*bi-l* "to give"). 187

Non-pronominal Adverbs.

The most important are the following. *melē* "elsewhere"; 188
thani "to-day", more frequently *thaniyā dinas, prasthābas* and the like, *thani-tole* "until to-day", *thanin nisēṃ* "from to-day". *hmegwo*, younger *hmigwo, hmiga* "yesterday", *kanas, kahnas* "to-morrow".—*tā* "a long time; far off".—*bhati* "a moment". *nanānaṃ* "soon".—*li-potas* "afterwards". *asā*, rarer *āsā* "then, under these circumstances". *hanwoṃ, hanaṃ* "again; further". *twoṃ, tu* "just, even". *ni* (emphasizing). *jā* "after all". *nāpaṃ* "completely".—*yathēnaṃ* "nevertheless, however". *mebanaṃ* "otherwise". *makhā* "certainly". *thukā* (affirmative).—Some forms of *juya*, esp. *julasāṃ* are used with the meaning "as for", or merely as emphasizing particles, especially in the younger MSS.—Interrogative adverbs are *chān, chāy* "why?"

The following adverbs *hṅă* "before", *li* "after"; *kwo, ku* "down", *tha* "up"; *du* "into", *pi* "out" are used in close 189

connection with verbs, forming a kind of looser compounds. *hṅā hāya* "to go in advance", *hṅa luya* "to agree"; *li thenë* "to return", *li phiya* "to overtake"; *kwo tinë* "to fall down"; *tha kāya* "to raise"; *du bvāya* "to leap into", *du kāya* "to draw in; to admit, adopt"; *pi tinë* "to turn out", *pi thanë* "to give away, to betray".—Without change of meaning we find *li-ta, kwo-ta, tha-ta, du-ta, pi-ta*; and before verbs of motion *hṅā-hā, li-hā, kwo-hā, thā-hā, du-hā, pi-hā*.

Note. *hā* in the last mentioned forms is identical with the root *hā-l* "to go, to move"; *du-hā woya* = *du hāsëṃ woya*.

190 From the adverbs in § 189 are derived others like *li-wonë* "behind"; *du-wonë* or *dunë* "inside"; *piwonë* or *pinë* "outside"; *hṅăco* "before"; *lico* "later, afterwards"; *hṅăpā* "first", *lipā* "behind"; *lisëṃ* "behind" (motion).

Note. Some of the adverbs in §§ 189.190 are also used as postpositions. See next chapter.

191 **Adverbs from Loan-words.**

The instrumental case of many Sanskrit words is used as an adverb. *mātran* "only"; *niścayanaṃ* "certainly"; *kṣaṇamātranaṃ* "a moment"; *atyantan* "very much"; *duḥkhanaṃ* "unhappily".—Less frequent are Sa. adverbs. *ati* or *atin(aṃ)* "very", *sadā* or *sadān* "always". *mahā* "great" is used as an adverb with the meaning "very".

Pronouns with *kāraṇas*, rarely *kāraṇan*; *nimittin*; *hetun* are used instead of Newārī adverbs esp. in the younger MSS. E. g. *thwoyā kāraṇas* for *thwoten* "therefore"; *chu* or *chuyā nimittin* for *chu, chuyāta* "for what purpose, why?"; *chu hetun* for *chāy, chān* "for what reason, why?". See also §§ 181 note, 184 note.

Adjectives may be formed from many adverbs, mostly by means of the genitive-ending- *yā*. *āvayā thās* Bh 23ª.4 "the present place"; *hṅacoyā brāhmaṇ-panī* V¹ 26ᵇ.3 "the brahmans of before", i. e. "the above mentioned br."; *hmegvayā rā* H² 60ª.3 "the meat from yesterday"; even *hṅāṃ nisyaṃyā samast bṛttāntar-kha* B 98.6 "the events from the beginning", lit. "of since before".—Other adjectival forms are *piwonë-guli* "outer"; *hṅawo* "first"; *piwo* "foremost"; *lithu* "the latter", *hṅathu* "the former". 192

POSTPOSITIONS

Besides the grammatical cases, postpositions are used to express case-like relations of nouns. Verbal forms with postpositions are used as subordinate clause-equivalents like the conjunctive participles and other verbal forms. 193

Not a few of the postpositions are loan-words, mostly cases of foreign nouns.—A noun usually takes a case-ending before a postposition.

Nouns with Postpositions.

1. of Newārī origin. 194

a. with the genitive. *hṅawonë* (also *hṅāwonë, hṅewonë*) "before, in the presence of". *liwonë* "behind", *liwonen* "from behind". *duwonë*, less frequently *dunë* "in the interior of, inside". *piwonë*, rarely *pinë* "outside". *bhin* "to" (*rājāyā bhin vayāva* H³ 38ᵇ.9 "going to the king"). *hun, hunin* "on account of".

b. with the instrumental. *kwo* "from . . . downwards"; *hṅā* "before" (temporal). *thaṃ* "from" (*hān thaṃ* "from the root"). *pi* "out of". *li* "after" (temporal); *liyā, lithan* id.

c. with the sociative. *nāpa* "together with".

d. with the locative. *du* "into".

e. with various cases. *liwo* with gen. or loc. "behind", with instr. "after" (temporal).—*lisëṃ* with gen. or loc. "behind", with the pure stem "along": *khusi lisëṃ* "along the river".—*dewonë* "outside, out of" with gen. or pure stem.—*kwos* "below, under"; also "near, in the vicinity of"; mostly with gen., rarer with pure stem.—*nisëṃ* "since" has before it the loc. or the pure stem, mostly with the particle *-aṃ*: *thwo belas-aṃ nisyaṃ* M 39[a].6 "since this time"; *thaniyā din-aṃ nisyaṃ* Vi 102.29 f. "since to-day". It is also found with the meaning "from": *naor-cāyā pvār-aṃ niseṃ. sarppayā pvāratoṃ* H[2] 101[b].6 "from the hole of the ichneumon to that of the snake".

195 Another postposition is *thëṃ* "as, like". *kāy svaya mitr thyaṃ* C[1] 87 "one must look upon a son as a friend". *thva-hma haṃsagaṇas bohor thyaṃ* H[1] 71[b].1 f. "he is like a crane amongst swans". Rarely with the genitive: *Palasūrā-mayā theṃ* V[1] 110[b].5 "like Paraśurāma"; but *bhalu-juyā thya. buddhi datasā* Ś 142[b].6 "if (your) cleverness is like that of the parrot".—Forms of *ṅane* "to be like" may be added". *tapasvi thyaṃ ṅanaṃ* M 24[a].5 "he was like an ascetic". *thëṃ ṅanakaṃ,* more rarely *ṅanakāva* = *thëṃ*.—*thëm* is also used after adverbs, mostly with the genitive: *sadāyā thyaṃ* "as always".

Note. Here we may mention the word *thiṅ*, also *thiṃ, thiṃ-hma, thiṃ-gwo*, though properly speaking no postposition. *je-pani thiṃ* "people like us". *cha thiṃṅ sumitr* M 12[b].2 "a friend like you". Note *Indrayā thiṅ saṃpati* C[1] 139 "a fortune like that of Indra".

196 2. of foreign origin. *agras* "in front of, before (local)". *anusāran* "conformably to". *uparas* "for the sake of". *kāraṇas* "on account of". *dvālan* "through, by means of". *nimittin* (also °*ttan*, °*ttis*, °*tt*) "for the sake of". These

always take the genitive.—With the pure stem we find *talas* "under, below" (but also genitive: *lāsāyā talas* "under the couch" B 107.28). *patiṃ* "everywhere in, on" (*kacā patiṃ* "on every branch", *din patiṃ* "every day"). *bāhikan* "without". *sahit*(*an*) "together with".—Usually the genitive takes *bāhirīs* "outside"; *samīpas* "with, near; to"; *samip* "to". The two latter are mostly used deferentially with nouns denoting persons of high rank.—*binā* "without" is placed before a noun in the locative or instrumental case: *binā palādhas* V[1] 38[b].3 "without justice".

Note. "without" is usually expressed by *ma dayakaṃ* (§ 131). *rājā ma dayakaṃ* "without a king". In a few cases *binā* ... *ma dayakaṃ*.

Verbal Forms with Postpositions.

Of Newārī origin are *li, hṅā, nisëṃ, thëṃ*. 197

1. *li* is constructed with various forms of the verb. Usually with the 10th form in *-sëṃ*, in a few instances *-sën*; less frequently with the 9th form, mostly the alternative form in *-an*; rarely with the instrumental or sociative of the 6th form, or both combined: *-won*.—It is the usual way of expressing a temporal clause with "after".—*wosëṃ li* "after he had come". *ku tiṅaṃ li* "after he has fallen down" C[1] 8 = *ko taṅan li* C[2]. *babu moyān li* "after the father had died" V[2] 55[b].4 = *babu moyāvan li* V[1] 90[b].4.

It also occurs in the sense "as, since". *chan jin dhāyā-guli kha ma ṅesëṃ li. chao nāpa cone ma ëo* Vi 75[b].3 f. "since you do not listen to the words I speak to you, I do not want to stay with you".

2. *hṅā* after a form in *-wolaṃ*, N *-wolan* (cf. § 103.7) means "before". *ma* is always added. *che ri ma hā-varaṃ hṅā* H[1] 93[b].3 "before he had returned to his home". *puru-*

ṣavo ehe ma yā-valan hn̄ā do mocā N 38^{b}.5 "a girl, who is not yet married to a man" (lit. "a girl existing before she is . . ."). It may occur with other forms: *sury uday. ma juvan hn̄ā* V^{1} 44^{b}.2 f. "before the sun had risen".—In N there also occurs a construction with B 6 (in *-an̄ān*), and with *-kālen* (§ 103.6).

3. *nisēṃ* with the 10th form means "since, from the moment". *je svāmi osya nisya jen. sunaṃ puruṣ ma kāyā* V^{2} 74^{b}.1 "since my husband went away, I have received no man".

4. *thēṃ* with the 5th and 6th forms expresses comparative clauses. *sukhaṃ ma cintarapā thyaṃ jāyarapīva. daiban hayā thya* H^{1} 74^{a}.2 "happiness does not arise as one expects, (but) as Fate sends it". *rājān ājñā dayaku thē. jācakayā lā-hātis lao hlāya dhuno* Vi 69.9 f. "I have delivered you into the hands of the beggar, as the king had ordered it".—With the 3rd or 4th form it means "as if". *Kṛṣṇatvaṃ grāsarape thya vayāva* Bh 62^{a}.7 "coming as if he would devour Kṛṣṇa".

Note. In P *nisēṃ* and *thēṃ* are used in a somewhat different way: *garbhas con̄-guli nisyaṃ* "since his birth" 7^{a}.5, *jāt juva thyaṃ* "as soon as he is born" 4^{a}.1.

198 Postpositions of foreign origin. The three words *arthan, kāraṇas, nimittin* with the 4th form express final clauses, with the 5th and 6th forms causal clauses. The genitives of the said forms also occur.—*nāg rākṣalape arthan je con̄ā* V^{2} 79^{a}.5 "I am here, in order to protect the nāgas". *pyatyākayā kāraṇas pāpaṃ yāyīo* H^{2} 108^{b}.6 "he will commit sins, because he is hungry".—With the 3rd form the meaning may be causal, e. g. *je prān moyu arthan. thava bhochisaṃ prān mocakala* V^{2} 29^{b}.5 "he destroyed the life of his family, because my life was going to be destroyed".

It means "lest" in a sentence like: *ma n̄enīoyā nimittin thukā dhāya ma chāsyaṃ con̄ā* Ś 147^{a}.5 "I was staying (here) not daring to speak, lest you might not listen to me".

belas with various forms of the verb expresses temporal clauses. *thva sabaran thathya pāś chusyaṃ tayā beras* H^{1} 13^{b}.2 "when the savage had thus set up his snare". *rājā-cā agnisaṃskār yāya dhakaṃ. tāl lāku belas* B 113.24 "while they were making preparations, (with the intention) to burn the prince". The 6th form is preferred, where the 1st or 2nd person is the subject, e. g. *ji-pani banakrīḍā on̄ā belas* Vi 39.31 f. "when we were going out hunting".—*ji caṇḍālayāta lava hlāyu belas* B 136.1 "when they are about to deliver me to the Caṇḍālas". *bhojan yāya belas* ib. 131.31 "when he will eat . . .". **199**

Note. The postpositions of foreign origin, of which especially *belas* becomes more frequent in the younger MSS, form analytical representations of synthetical verbal forms. So the first three stand for the 4th form + *yān̄a* or the dative of this form (§ 122 c δ. 123 b), and for the instrumental of the 5th and 6th forms (§ 125 b. 127 a). *belas* stands for the 11th form and for the form B 3 (§ 133.138).

CONJUNCTIONS

As will be seen from the foregoing sections, subordinate conjunctions are expressed by other means in Newārī. The only word which might with some justification be called thus, is *lā* when used with the conditional. See § 135. **200**

The principal coordinating conjunctions are: *thwoten*, later *thutin* "therefore, consequently".—*asā . . . asā* (rarely *āsā*) "either . . . or" connecting clauses. *asā sama-* **201**

stayā siras tayu. asā banas hāva svān thyaṃ ṅanyū H[1] 67[a] 2 f. "he (i. e. a wise man) will either be placed at the head of all, or he will wither like a flower, fallen off in a wood". —*tha jula . . . tha jula,* less frequently *tha khet . . . tha khet* "be it . . . be it". *guruyā strī tha jula. rājāyā strī tha jula . . . thva . . . mām dhāya* C[1] 20 "be it the wife of a guru, be it the wife of a king, . . . these may be called mother".

202 The most important one is *nwoṃ,* later *naṃ,* which is extremely frequent especially in the weakened form *-aṃ, -ṃ* (§ 11). It means "even, yet, still, but, also, and", but often its meaning is too subtle to be rendered in translation.—Examples may illustrate the use of it. *sakal pakṣi milay juyāva. je mocake tayār jura. jen-aṃ thava parākram keṅā* H[2] 75[b].2 f. "all birds gathered and were ready to kill me; but I displayed my courage". *thana rātriyā samay juyāva thana-ṃ coṅ* B 56.26 f. "then when night came, he was still there". *ji-ṃ vane* B 29.22 "I, too, shall go". *rākṣasayāke ṅanaṃ. rākṣasan-aṃ dhālaṃ* ib. 153.17 "he asked the ogre; and the ogre said".—Frequently it is found twice, meaning "both . . . and" when it connects words. *dharma-noṃ a-dharma-noṃ* C[2] 2 "both justice and injustice". When connecting clauses, the meaning is something like "but, on the other hand". *van-aṃ dhāyā-ṃ ji kalāt. van-aṃ dhāyā-ṃ ji kalāt* B 68.27 "the one said: she is my wife, (but) the other: she is my wife". (Note that the conjunction here really occurs four times). With *ma* the meaning is "neither . . . nor". *ji juraṃ sita-ṃ ma khu. rogan-aṃ kala-ṃ ma khu* Vi 172.27 f. "I am neither dead, nor have I fallen ill". (See also § 6).—In N *uṃ, vuṃ* is frequently found for *nwoṃ.*

Note 1. Frequently "and" connecting words, or sentences, is not expressed at all; e. g. *hnas hnās* "the ear and the nose", *bā kāy* "father and son". The same is the case with "but", for an example see § 197,4.—On "and" expressed by a double sociative see § 32.

Note 2. A kind of conjunction also is the phrase *chāy* or *chān dhālasā,* meaning "for", lit. "if (you) say why? (then I answer)".

Additional Chapters on Syntax.

Order of Words. 203

A Newārī sentence is always closed by the verb. The object usually has its place immediately before the verb; the subject precedes the object.—For the sake of emphasis other arrangements are found; e. g. *ji prabhu-ju thva mantrīn syāto* B 112.19 "my husband has been killed by this minister". *bibahār yāk. mahā jātrā yāṅaṃ* ib. 76.25 "they celebrated the marriage, arranging great festivities". *deb pūjā yāya bhaktan. ugrāban pujā yāya dānan* C[1] 90 "a God must be honoured by devotion, a servant by gifts".

Compound Sentences. 204

A compound sentence consists of a main verb with subject and object, preceded by one or more adverbial or conjunctive participles, cases of a nominal form, or verbal forms with postpositions. Each of these subordinate forms may be constructed with subject and object like a finite verb, thus constituting a complete sentence, which is subordinated to the main clause by way of the suffix or case-ending of the verbal form, or the postposition, attached to it.—Examples: *rājān. prān lakṣalapeyātaṃ. kanyālatn bisyanaṃ. ma kāsyaṃ. prāṇ toḷ-tava* V[1] 90[a].2 f. "though this jewel of a girl was given him to protect his life, the king gave up his life, without accepting her". *thva jogi thava rājy vaṅāva. pi lā. cyā lā dasyaṃ li thva rājānaṃ thava kalāt bone bhālapāva. saṃdes prades dayakāva. bonakal cho-*

taṃ B 100.21 ff. "when the yogin had gone to his country, the king decided to fetch his wife, after four, eight days had passed, and having given instructions and information, he sent to have her fetched".—More examples are found in the preceding chapters.

205 **Attraction of the Subject.**

When two or more verbal forms in a sentence have the same subject, it is mostly "attracted" by the first of these forms; e. g. *rājā krodh cāyāva dhālaṃ* V[1] 22ᵃ.2 "the king grew angry and said". Though the main verb is transitive, the subject is put in the nominative, because the first verb is intransitive.—More striking *rāni-cān kva sol vayāva* B 130.19 "the princess came to look down, and . . .". *dhūn naya-yāṅaṃ vava khaṅāva* ib. 24.9 "on seeing the tiger coming to eat him". *dhūn* is treated as subject to *naya-yāṅaṃ* "in order to eat" (the expression *dhūn . . . vava* is object to *khaṅāva* "on seeing"). See also above §§ 24. 122 c δ.—Even an object may be treated in the same way; e. g. *pĕ-hmasen hmi-tĕkes talaṃ* Vi 151.14 f. "he appointed four persons to play with him". Here *pĕ-hmasen* is treated as agent to *hmi-tĕke* (lit. "to cause to play"), though it is also object to *talaṃ*.

Note. Similarly *chen seya phava khe* V[1] 44ᵃ.1 "you can know". —See also § 154.

206 **Coordination for Subordination.**

Not frequent. E. g. *puruṣ śito. kāy ma thval strī. dah kābasan* (MS *kāra°*). *posarape* N 39ᵃ.9 "when the husband is dead, the heir must support his childless wife". (lit. "the husband is dead. The heir . . ."). Notably the 3rd form is used in this way. *manuṣan. thava sahaj ma tol-tu.*

lokan jhyātukaṃ yāyu. biparīt yāyu. thama yāṅā phalan juyuva H[2] 54ᵇ.3. "(when) a person does not depart from his innate nature, (when) he acts in a way that people honour him, (when) he acts badly, (then) he will fare according to the consequences he himself has brought about". (On *tol-tu* see § 100,3 note 1).

Relative Clauses. 207

Though as a rule the nominal forms of the verb are used as relative clause-equivalents, relative clauses with the interrogative pronouns and pronominal adverbs functioning as relative pronouns are not infrequently found. The demonstrative (correlative) clause, which invariably follows the relative clause, usually opens with a demonstrative pronoun or pronominal adverb, corresponding in form to the relative pronoun.—To *su* mostly corresponds *wo-hma*, to *chu wo(-guli)*.—The relative clause prefers the 1st form of the verb in *-a*.

Examples: *gva-hma strīn putr jāyarapayakara. thva-hma strī dhāya* H[1] 85ᵃ.1 "a wife that bears children, she must be called a true wife". *gva-hmayā buddhi dato. va-hma balabant dhāya* H[2] 66ᵃ.4 "who has wisdom, he must be called powerful". *gana chimisyaṃ hayā. ana tor-tāva tāthiva* B 89.23 f. "where you have fetched them, there you leave them!" *āo chan chu bāñchā yāṅā. o-guli jin purṇ yāṅāo biya* Vi 39.3 f. "what wish you have now, that I will grant you".

Less frequent are relative clauses with a nominal form or a conjunctive participle. *sunān lakṣ chī ṭaṃkā biya phava-hmaṃ. o-hmaṃ tu. thva beśyān kayu* V[1] 112ᵃ.4 f. "who is able to give a hundred thousand ṭaṅkas, him this courtesan will admit". *gva-hma puruṣan. thao ātmāyā.*

parātmāyā. balābal svayāva. antar ma serañās. thva-hma bairin. ko tiniva H² 75ᵇ.5 f. "if a man, on considering the relative strenght of himself and of others, does not understand the difference, this one the enemies will defeat".

Two relative pronouns are found in cases like *gva-guli karmas gva-hma kuśal jula. va-hma va-guli karmas jojarape* H² 84ᵇ.8 "each one is to be appointed to the work for which he is fitted".

208 **Interrogative Sentences.**

The particle of interrogation is *lā*. Its place is mostly at the end of the sentence after the verb. *jāgalapu lā* V¹ 36ᵇ.1 "are you awake?" *jen ma dhāyā rā* H¹ 46ᵇ.5 "did I not say?" Also *chanake lā ma dhāya* V¹ 81ᵃ.5 "should (I) not tell you?"—In disjunctive questions we mostly find *lā . . . lā*, e. g. *jhijhisla dām bisya hava lā. ma hava lā* B 21.6 f. "did he give us money, or did he not?" In longer sentences also *lā . . . asā lā*.

209 **Dependent Questions.**

Questions dependent on verbs signifying "to look, to inquire, to reflect, to doubt, to know not" have the following form. *mantr siddhī juyuva rā khas. soya* V¹ 93ᵇ.5 "I will see, if the incantation will be successful". *thva bānin cho yāyu ṣas bhālapāva. guptan svayāva conaṃ* H² 47ᵃ.1 "the merchant was watching her secretly, doubting what she might do". *jhijisen purb janmas chu pāp yāñāo ola khe ma siyā* Vi 102.6 f. "I do not know which sin we have committed in a former existence".—In disjunctive questions of this kind *khas* etc. is wanting: *rājā ras tāva ma tāva svaya* H² 54ᵇ.8 "I will investigate whether the king is pleased or not".

Dependent Substantival Clauses. 210

Dependent clauses containing a statement, a question, a command, take the form of the oratio recta (§ 212). *jen upāy yāya thukā. dhakaṃ. pratijñā yāñāva* H² 77ᵃ.7 "having promised to find a remedy" (lit. "I will find a r., so he pr."). *thva su dhakaṃ ñanaṃ* B 126.19 "(she) asked who it was". *chan thathiṃñ aiśvary jula dhaka jin ma siyā* Vi 84.14 f. "I did not know, that you had obtained such splendour".

dhakaṃ may be wanting, especially before *siya* "to know", *bhālapẽ* "to think". Before *siya* may be found *kha* etc. (see § 110). *Satyaśīlā sahagāmini onīna dhāo-guli bārtā* Vi 46.25 "the rumour that Satyaśīlā was going to be burnt together with her husband". *cha thathiṃñ pāpi kha. jin ma siyā* ib. 105.14 f. "I did not know that you were as bad as that".—See also §§ 121 bγ. 124 b. 126 b.

Final Clauses and **Causal Clauses**, when containing a subjective motive or reason may be formed in the same way. *koṭubālan. khu khojalape dhakaṃ. deś bhramalapāva julaṃ* V¹ 20ᵃ.5 "the kotwal started to wander through the town, in order to (or with the intention to) search for the thief". *rājāyā hukam ma du dhakāva ji ma vayā* B 56.25 f. "I am not coming, because there is no order from the king". 211

Reported Speech. 212

The only way of expressing reported speech or thought is by quoting the words actually spoken or thought, and connecting them with the principal verb by means of *dhakaṃ*, rarely *dhākaṃ, dhakāwo*. These are weakened forms of *dhāyakaṃ* (*dhāyakāwo*) "in a way as to say" (cf. § 131).—Examples: *thva jogi ma syātasā. ji siya julo dhakaṃ rānīn*

dhāyāva B 100.11 "unless you kill this yogin, I shall die. Thus spoke the queen, and . . .". *chan putrī sundali khaṅāo. Dhumurākṣ rākṣasan. khusya yana dhakaṃ dhālaṃ* V^2 34^b.5 f. "on seeing that your daughter was beautiful, the ogre Dhūmrākṣa abducted her. Thus he spoke".—*dhakaṃ* may be wanting. *bho strī chan gathya siyā dhāyāva* B 114.15 f. "oh woman, how do you know? he said and . . .".

213 *dhakaṃ* may be used more independently in the sense, "saying so, thinking so". *thva laṃkhayā guṇanaṃ khava dhakaṃ. laṃkha lvahaṃ-cāto jvaṅāva vanaṃ* B 86.6 f. "she took some water and pebbles, thinking that it happened so through some quality of the water". Note the following instance: *thavata dhakaṃ kāsyaṃ tayā-hma. rānī-cā* ib. 27.2 "the princess who had taken him thinking that it was for herself".

Note. From a Newārī point of view there is no real difference between the instances quoted in §§ 212. 213 and those in §§ 210. 211.

214 **The Particle *he*.**

By means of this particle (also *hen, ha, han*; cf. *han tenẽ* "to believe erroneously") are formed expressions of irresolution in the following way. *o yāya he ma siyāva* V^2 21^b.6 "not knowing what to do". *ana vane he ma siyāva* B 54.14 "not knowing where to go". *bāp o hen-aṃ ma seraṅān* N 38^b.7 "because he does not even know who is his father".

215 **Comparison of Adjectives.**

a. A comparative is expressed by means of *sinwoṃ*, later *sinaṃ*, rarely *siṃ*; in N mostly *pẽnwoṃ*. It is constructed with the genitive. *prānayā sinaṃ. jhyātu. hmyāca* V^1 54^a.6 "a daughter more valuable than his life". *Kubelayā dhanayā sinaṃ tava-dhani* ib. 34^a.3 f. "richer than the riches of Kubera".—Also antitaxis is found: *murkh juya bhiṅ. phas-kha hlāya ma bhiṅ* H^2 39^a.5 f. "it is better to be stupid than to tell lies". (lit. "to be st. is good, to tell lies is not good").

b. A superlative is expressed in the following way. *samastayā siṃ. barabant. daib* H^1 31^b.2 "Fate is the most powerful of all". *suyā sinoṃ kutanīyā tava buddhi* V^1 128^b.6 "the cleverness of the procuress was the greatest of all". (lit. "greater than that of anybody").—It may also be like the positive. *sva-hmaṃs. suyā komal śarīl* V^1 73^b.2 "whose body amongst the three is the most tender?"

Note. *sinwoṃ* alone means "more than, in a higher degree than"; e. g. *debalokayā sinaṃ nṛtyabidyā sava* V^1 110^b.4 "he knows the art of dancing better than the gods".

Negation. 216

The particle of negation is *ma*, before *mālẽ* "to be necessary" mostly *mu*. *ma khu* is not infrequently found for it, especially after the predicative forms of the verbs. *ji satyan chanata kayakā ma khu* Vi 35.32 "I did not hit you on purpose". *ji oya dhuno ma khu lā* Ś 166^b.6 "have I not come?"—A litote: *je hnās ma daya ma pho* H^2 64^a.1 "it can't be that I have no nose", i. e. "I must have a nose". —See also § 114 (negation of the causative) and § 158. 159 (negative imperative).

Duplication. 217

a. The repetition of an adjective or a noun denotes indefinite plurality. *des des bhramalapaṃ* V^1 30^b.3 "roaming about in many countries". *guṇīk guṇīk brāhman-pani* B 125.7 "all kinds of clever brahmans" or "the one clever br. after

the other".—Otherwise repetition mostly intensifies the meaning of a word. *hatā hatāsanaṃ* "very eagerly, in a great hurry". *khosya khosyaṃ* "weeping profusely". *dāyā dāyāo* Vi 160.11 "beating vehemently".—Of verbs sometimes only the base is repeated, e. g. *swo juk swoyā mātranaṃ* ib. 98.11 f. "merely by looking" (Ed. erroneously *swoya*). *sva ni svaya* H^2 60^a.3 "I will certainly look".

b. As stated above in § 75, an indefinite relative pronoun is sometimes expressed by duplicating the relative pronoun; an example may illustrate this. *ganā ganā Śasiprabhā vanā. anā anā o brāhmanaṃ nāpaṃ vanaṃ* V^1 78^a.1 f. "wherever Śaśiprabhā went, there this brahman, too, went".

Note. The MS spells *ganā2 . . . anā2*, as frequently; e. g. *hatā2 sanaṃ* Vi 18^a.4 (= Ed. 34.16).

c. "each" is expressed by means of duplication. *hako hako* B 26.10 "each one that has been brought". *hṅathva hṅathva śreṣṭ* N 40^b.6 "each preceding one is superior". *thva thva* "each of these". *thava thavas che* V^1 53^a.3 "each his own house". *thava thavan bay yāya māl* N 40^a.5 "each must defray his own expenses".

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